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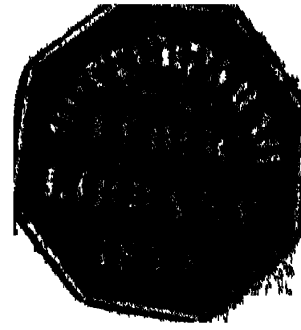
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ART. I.—*Benares, Past and Present.*

THE great antiquity of India is proved directly and indirectly in so many ways, that it has come to be regarded as one of the ordinary truisms about which all the civilized world are agreed. Yet it is remarkable that, although it admits not of the smallest question, no evidence in its favour should be afforded by any monument of art hitherto discovered in the country. There is no known specimen of architecture existing of any character the date of which carries us back beyond the third century before Christ. The pillars of Asoka, which belong to this period, are the very earliest sculptured remains yet found. 'Of these,' says Mr. Fergusson, 'one is at Delhi, having been re-erected by Feroze Shah in his palace, as a monument of his victory over the Hindus. Three more are standing near the river Gunduck in Tuhoot; and one has been placed on a pedestal in the fort of Allahabad. A fragment of another was discovered near Delhi, and part of a seventh was used as a roller on the Benares road by a Company's engineer officer.* There is reason for supposing that some of the Bhilsa topes may be assigned to this epoch, while others are undoubtedly of a somewhat later date. Of the cave temples, so interesting not only to the archaeologist but likewise to all lovers of the curious, not one was excavated earlier than the first century before Christ. The great Kauli cave dates from the beginning of the Christian era. The Ajunta caves belong to several epochs, and some are as recent as the ninth or tenth centuries A. D. The Viswakarma cave at Ellora is of the seventh or eighth century A. D. Among the caves in Behar there is one called the Lomas Rishi, which from certain peculiarities in its construction may, it is conjectured, have been excavated prior to

* Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture*, p. 7.

the Christian era, although the inscription which covers it is ascribed only to the fourth century after Christ.

It has been asserted on strong authority, that no ancient temples or religious monasteries apart from the cave structures exist in India, on the ground that the pre-Buddhist Hindus, that is, those living previous to the sixth century B. C., were as yet simple and unsophisticated, and performed the rites of their religion to a great extent without idols or temples, or if with them, those objects were made of perishable material. The fact of no temples or other edifices having been discovered, is regarded as a powerful reason in substantiation of this assertion. Now, to say the least, it is exceedingly premature to hazard such an opinion founded on such a basis, inasmuch as the study of Indian antiquities with exactness is only of yesterday. Scarcely a generation has passed since Prinsep deciphered the inscriptions on Asoka's pillars and ascertained their date. Moreover, the spirit of archaeological inquiry has but slightly manifested itself among the British rulers of India. Of the large number of educated Englishmen who have visited the country during the last one hundred years, and have resided in it for a longer or shorter period, perhaps not one in a thousand has taken the smallest practical interest in bringing to the light of day its hidden historical treasures. It is a hopeful sign of the times that curiosity on this subject is now being extensively excited, but it has hardly yet passed into the stage of eager desire displaying itself by earnest and persistent effort in the pursuit of archaeological investigations. The discoveries of the last few years have been so remarkable and abundant, and have added so many increments to our small stock of knowledge respecting ancient India, that the appetite for these researches has become more strongly whetted, and the belief has been originated that the Indian mine is rich and deep, and is ample enough to repay the efforts of a whole army of explorers.

The ancient edifices of India with which we are acquainted are not of that primitive and rude character as to lead us to imagine that they are the very first productions of Indian architectural skill. On the contrary, they indicate an advanced stage both in the knowledge and application of permanent material, and in devising and executing elegant designs in it. No one can look upon Asoka's monoliths and believe for an instant that the knowledge of architecture which they display, was acquired simply during that monarch's reign. Nor can it be credited that the beautiful cave temples were without their predecessors. It may be replied, however, that, from a minute and careful examination of Indian, Assyrian, and Egyptian

architecture, the conclusion may almost be demonstrated, that the models of the two former styles were originally wooden, while those of the last mentioned were of stone, and that therefore there is a necessary limit to our investigations beyond which it is useless to attempt to go, for that the wooden models have mostly if not entirely perished, and the stone are of a later period. Granting that this theory is in the main true, we are not compelled to believe that the earliest stone erections were as recent as the third century before Christ, or, if there were any before that date, that they have all been destroyed. Of the ancient Assyrian palaces discovered by Layard, those most elaborately sculptured were built about B. C. 700, while others in a less ornamented style were erected before this. And even these were preceded by wooden buildings. If this be correct, why should not at least the same antiquity be conceded to Indian sculptures subsequent to the wooden period? Is it at all likely that the Aryan race existed in India for between one and two thousand years, that they conquered a large portion of the country, that they attained to greatness and glory, and made wonderful progress in civilization, equalling if not surpassing their contemporaries in other parts of Asia, and yet that during all this time they were satisfied with only transitory symbols of greatness, and never conceived the idea of leaving behind them durable monuments of their power which should hand down their name to many generations? They must have heard of the vast structures erected in Egypt, and of the splendid palaces, and stairs, and pillars, and other edifices, with which the Assyrian monarchs adorned their cities. They were not lacking in genius or in the desire for knowledge; on the contrary, their minds investigated the highest subjects, and whatever was of interest to humanity in general, they regarded as of importance to themselves.

But, it may be said, the Hindus borrowed their architecture from the Assyrians, or that the architecture of the two races was of a common origin. Both suppositions may be true, and in our opinion it is almost certain that in whatever way it was brought about, both countries in some respects followed the same models. Whether Assyrian or Persian sculptors were the architects of the earliest Hindu buildings, is open to question, but if they were, it seems absurd to suppose that they should have erected edifices altogether of wood, while in their own country the public buildings were to a large extent of stone, especially seeing that various kinds of durable stone were easily procurable in India. If, on the other hand, the architects were natives who had learnt the principles of their

art chiefly from Assyria or Persia, it appears equally strange that they should have perpetuated the construction of wooden buildings in India for centuries after they must have known them to have been abandoned in those countries and to have given place to vast edifices of wood and stone combined, covered with carvings and sculptures.

We arrive therefore at this conclusion, that as there is every reason to believe that solid buildings partly if not entirely of stone were erected in India several hundred years preceding the third century B. C., the earliest date, as already remarked, of any monuments hitherto discovered, the probability is, that if a diligent search were instituted, some fragmentary remains of them would be found. It is a circumstance highly favourable to the prosecution of this search, that the ancient abodes of the Aryan race in India have been for the most part well ascertained. All these places will be, we hope, in the course of time thoroughly examined, and every object of interest tending to throw any light on the subject before us or on the ancient history of India generally, noted and described.

Among the primitive cities founded by this people, must indisputably be reckoned the city of Benares. When it was first founded, and by what prince or patriarch, is altogether unknown. But of its great antiquity stretching back through the dim ages of Indian history far into the clouds and mists of the Vedic and perhaps pre-Vedic periods, there can be no doubt. By reason of some subtle and mysterious charm, this city has linked itself with the religious sympathies of the Hindus through every century of its existence. For the sanctity of its inhabitants, of its temples and tanks, of its wells and streams, of the very soil that is trodden, of the very air that is breathed, and of everything in it and around it, Benares has been famed for thousands of years. The poor deluded sensualist, whose life has been passed in abominable practices, or the covetous *mahajan* who has made himself rich by a long course of hard-fisted extortion, or the fanatical devotee, fool and murderer, more simple than a babe, yet guilty of the foulest crimes, still comes as of old from the remotest corners of India, as the sands of time are slowly ebbing away, and fearful lest the golden thread should be snapped before his long journey is ended, he makes desperate efforts to hold on his course, until, arriving at the sacred city and touching its hallowed soil, his anxious spirit becomes suddenly calm, a strange sense of relief comes over him, and he is at once cheered and comforted with the treacherous lie, that his sins are forgiven, and his soul is saved.

It is natural therefore to believe that *primâ facie* Benares

offers as fair a field for archaeological investigation in regard to the earliest forms of Hindu architecture as any city in India. It is confessedly true that no very ancient remains have yet been found there, but the reason may be, because they have not been properly sought after. It is only within the last three or four years that, so far as we are aware, any inquiries have been made in a regular manner respecting the old buildings existing in Benares. Mr. James Prinsep, the great Indian archaeologist, was the Magistrate of the city for several years, but it does not appear that he made any important discoveries in it. His 'Views of Benares' are chiefly of a popular cast, and do not give evidence of any extensive observation or research. Major Kittoe, the late Government Archaeologist and Architect of the Government College, a beautiful Gothic structure in the suburbs of the city although interesting himself in the excavations at Sarnath, some three miles to the north of Benares, did not, so far as is known, examine the city itself. Indeed so inattentive was he to its claims to antiquity, that he removed many cart-loads of heavy stones, some of which were curiously carved, from Bakariya Kund on the confines of the city and not more than a mile from the college which he was erecting, without reflecting that they might possibly be the relics of ancient buildings formerly situated on that site. As a fact, they were connected with a series of Buddhist edifices covering perhaps as much space as those the foundations and remains of which are found at Sarnath. A third archaeologist, Mr. Thomas, late Judge of Benares, and a distinguished numismatist, trod in the same footsteps, only taking interest in the coins discovered in the city. As instances of ruthless spoliation, we may here remark, that in the erection of one of the bridges over the river Burma, forty-eight statues and other sculptured stones were removed from Sarnath and thrown into the river to serve as a breakwater to the piers; and that in the erection of the second bridge, the Iron one, from fifty to sixty cart-loads of the stones from the Sarnath buildings were employed. But this Vandalism hardly equals that of Baboo Jagat Sing, who in the last century carted away an entire tope from the same vast store-house, with which he built Jagat Gunge in the suburbs of the city.

The chief reason why Benares has been thus neglected is, in our judgment, attributable partly to its great extent, and partly to the general ignorance as to the position of its ancient portions; and consequently the explorer in commencing his task would be in considerable doubt where to begin. Now it is necessary to state, that much of the existing city has been erected in comparatively modern times, and with the exception of an occa-

sional bit of old frieze or cornice, or a broken bas-relief or statue, inserted into recent walls, deposited over drains, or lying neglected by the side of the road, there is nothing of an ancient character visible. But all the northern quarter of the city, a district little frequented by European visitors, exhibits signs of antiquity in abundance. Independent of a few separate buildings, or parts of buildings, here and there to be seen, of an early style of Hindu architecture, sculptured stones of many kinds are distributed amongst the walls and foundations of the modern houses and in all places wherever solid masonry is required, in such great profusion, that it is impossible not to believe that on this site stood Benares in olden times. Moreover, the very scattered nature of these remains, shows that a vast period has elapsed since they occupied their proper places in their own original edifices. It might be utterly impracticable to collect the entire materials of any one building, but this is not necessary, seeing that the age of a building can be commonly determined by observing only a fragment of its ruins. In the case however of ancient Hindu remains, so little has been done in their investigation, especially in comparing one with another, that the question of their antiquity cannot be at once decided. From an ignorance of primitive types, mistakes of five hundred or a thousand years or upwards may be easily made. In judging therefore of the age of the relics found in Benares, we have in reality very little to guide us.

If there be anything in the argument based on the simplicity of a style or on its ornamentation relative to its greater or less antiquity, then can we predicate of the buildings which formerly stood in this part of Benares every stage of antiquity, from the most remote to the most recent. Some of the capitals, pillars, bases, architraves, and mouldings, are most severely simple in their type, while others are crowded with ornamentation, and both species are very different from the styles in modern use. The first species is doubtless the forerunner of the second, but at what interval it is at present impossible to affirm.

There is no question that a large proportion of the ancient remains in Benares are of Buddhist origin, but of various epochs, and in some cases those on the same site are of different ages. For instance, the Buddhist monastery and temples, of which traces are found at Bakariya Kund, differ in their styles of architecture. Of the two chaityas or temples, parts of which are still standing, the pillars of the one are square and without ornament, while those of the other, situated about three hundred yards off, are first square, then eight-sided, and then sixteen-sided, and are adorned with exquisitely carved devices.

Moreover, from the masonic symbols engraved upon many of the stones, it is manifest that, while a portion of the buildings was erected during the Gupta dynasty or from the third to the sixth centuries A. D., yet that another portion must have been built much earlier, possibly at the time when the Pali language was spoken.

There are several ancient edifices in Benares, which if not original, are certainly to a large extent built of old materials. In these, more especially in their columns, may be traced a gradation of style. When we compare the simple bracket or cruciform capital and its plain square shaft and base, such as we find in the pillars of the cloisters around the platform of Aurungzebe's mosque behind the modern Bisheshwar temple, and also in the pillars of a Mahomedan cemetery in the neighbourhood of Tilia Nala, with the elaborately ornamented columns of the mosque in the Raj Ghaut Fort, we are at once struck at the contrast, and at the extraordinary development which the style, the same fundamentally in both instances, has received. Various intermediate stages of diversity are represented in other buildings to which we cannot here further allude. But the first class of pillars must, we contend, be of a very early date. It does not follow, however, that the other class belongs necessarily to a recent epoch. The mosque in which the columns of this class are found consists apparently of two Buddhist cloisters, or possibly of two divisions of a Buddhist temple, and has been at times so extensively altered and repaired that it is hard to say that any one column stands exactly as originally placed. The columns are four in each row, and are seventy in number. They are all carved, as also, with a few exceptions, are the architraves, and the carvings in one division are uniform. The carvings in the other division, are bolder and more profuse, but nevertheless are totally free from degeneracy of style. Some of the pillars are of striking beauty, and for grandness of conception and correctness of execution, are not surpassed anywhere in India. Now, as some of the beautifully carved pillars at Bhilsa were set up in the second or third centuries before Christ, we must be careful in our estimate of the date to which the Raj Ghaut pillars, which are of equal excellency and purity of style, ought to be assigned.

But we do not suppose that the architectural remains scattered over this quarter of Benares are all of Buddhist origin. At the same time, we do not forget the remark of Fergusson, (*Hand-book of Architecture*, p. 100,) that 'the earliest authentic building that we have of the Hindu religion in Hindustan, is the great temple of Bhobaneswar, (in Orissa,) built

' by Lelat Indra Kosari, A. D. 657,' which, if true at the time he wrote, is nevertheless in our judgment a remark made without sufficient investigation. The same eminent writer has elsewhere hazarded the erroneous observation respecting Buddhist structures, that no built examples whatever exist in India of Buddhist temples (chaityas) and monasteries (vihars); and has besides strangely confounded Jain and Buddhist monuments. Previous to the Buddhist supremacy in India, we know that Benares was a Brahminical city, and there is no proof that at any period of that supremacy Brahminism was entirely extirpated therefrom. For our part, we are inclined to believe that some of these ancient remains may be attributed equally to Hindu and Buddhist origin. The simple style of architecture, to which we have alluded, was without doubt the earliest introduced into Benares, perhaps into Hindustan, and whether the work of Buddhists or Hindus, is of high antiquity.

It will be remembered by some of our readers, that the large Buddhist tope at Sarnath was seen by the Chinese traveller Hwan Thsang in the seventh century of our era, and probably by Fa Hian, another Chinese pilgrim, in the beginning of the fifth. These persons not only saw the tope, but also other buildings in its immediate neighbourhood. The former says, that one hundred separate chapels or shrines, surmounted by golden arrows, and possessing gilt images, encompassed the tower; and the latter speaks of several towers and of two monasteries erected on this spot. The excavations at Sarnath have revealed portions of some of these edifices, and have brought to light numerous images or statues deposited in them. The structures seen by Fa Hian were probably erected for the most part in the fourth century or earlier, but of their date we have no exact information. A discovery of much importance has been made in carrying on the excavations, namely, that below the foundations of the later building are the remains *in situ* of an earlier structure, the epoch of which must be placed far anterior to that of the upper one. When we reflect that Sakya Muni first 'turned the wheel of the law' at Sarnath in the sixth century B. C., and that from that period downwards this spot was held in the greatest sanctity by all pious Buddhists, it is certain that buildings of some sort must have existed there from that early era continuously down to the time of the visit of the Chinese travellers. The most primitive of them may have been of ~~wood~~ ^{pl.}, but to us it seems absurd to suppose that at the time erected stone monuments in honour of Buddha all over this place of Buddha's first labours should have

possessed only wooden structures, especially when we remember that inexhaustible quarries of the finest sandstone existed only a few miles off, namely, near the sites of the modern towns of Muzapore and Chunar.

It is worthy of notice as indicative of the nature of Mahomedan rule in India, that nearly all the buildings in Benares of acknowledged antiquity have been appropriated by the Mussulmans, being used as mosques, mausoleums, daagahs, and so forth, and also that a large portion of the separate pillars, architraves, and various other ancient remains, which, as before remarked, are so plentifully found in one part of the city, are contributing to the support or adornment of their edifices. Not content with destroying temples and mutilating idols with all the zeal of fanatics, they fixed their greedy eyes on whatever object was suited to their own purposes, and without remorse or any of the tenderness shown by the present rulers, seized upon it for themselves. And thus it has come to pass, that every solid and durable structure, and every ancient stone of value, being esteemed by them as their peculiar property, has very few exceptions passed into their hands. We believe it was the boast of Alauddin that he had destroyed one thousand temples in Benares alone. How many more were razed to the ground, or transformed into mosques through the iconoclastic fervour of Aurungzebe, there is no means of knowing, but it is not too much to say that he was unsurpassed in this feature of religious enthusiasm by any of his predecessors. If there be one circumstance respecting the Mahomedan period which Hindus remember better than another, it is the insulting pride of the Mussulmans, the outrages which they perpetrated upon their religious convictions, and the extensive spoliation of their temples and shrines. It is right that Europeans as well as Hindus should clearly understand that this spirit of Mahomedanism is unchangeable, and that if by any mischance India should again come into the possession of men of this creed, all the churches and colleges, and all the Mission institutions, with perhaps every other product of Christianity, would not be worth a week's purchase.

When we endeavour to ascertain what the Mahomedans have left to the Hindus of their ancient buildings in Benares, we are startled at the result of our investigations. Although the city is beset with temples in every direction, in some places very thickly, yet it would be difficult we believe to find twenty temples in all Benares of the age of Aurungzebe. The same unequal proportion of old temples as compared with new is visible throughout the whole of Northern India. Moreover the dur-

native size of nearly all the temples which exist, is another powerful testimony to the stringency of the Mahomedan rule. It seems clear that for the most part the emperors forbade the Hindus to build spacious temples, and only suffered them to erect small structures of the size of cages for their idols, and these of no pretensions to beauty. The consequence is, that the Hindus of the present day, blindly following the example of their predecessors of two centuries ago, commonly build their religious edifices of the same dwarfish size as formerly, but instead of plain, ugly buildings, they are often of elegant construction. Some of them indeed are so delicately carved on their exterior face, are so crowded with bas-reliefs and minute sculpturing, and are so lavishly ornamented, that the eye of the beholder becomes satiated and wearied. In regard to size, there is a marked difference between the temples of Northern and Southern India, the latter being frequently of gigantic dimensions, yet in respect of symmetry and beauty, the difference is immensely in favour of the Northern faues.

The form of religion prevailing among the Hindus in Benares is Puranic, which in all probability originated in the country generally at the time when the Buddhist religion began to lose its hold upon the people, or about the fifth or sixth century A. D. Vedantism more or less tinctures the philosophical creed of many, but the staple religion of the masses is the lowest and grossest form of idolatry—is the worship of uncouth idols, of monsters, of the lingam and other indecent figures, and of a multitude of grotesque, ill-shapen, and barbarous objects. Some of them are wild parodies on the animal kingdom, representing imaginary creatures made up in a variety of ways. There is no city in India in which the reverence paid to images is more absolute and complete than in Benares. It is remarkable too, as showing the extent to which the spirit of idolatry has permeated all classes, that pundits and thinking men, who ought to know better, join in the general practice. The only persons who do not heartily engage in it, are the young men educated at the public colleges and schools, who out of deference to their parents and friends perform carelessly and flippantly the prescribed religious duties, but who have already perceived the hollowness and absurdity of Hinduism, and do not scruple occasionally to betray their sentiments, and even to scoff at their own religion. To this class, which is constantly increasing, should be added those persons, the number of whom may be large, but which it is impossible to calculate, who have paid serious attention to the exposition of Christian Truth by Missionaries in the bazar, and who although not outwardly accepting Chris-

tianity, are yet to some extent convinced of the falsity of Hinduism.

Since the country has come into our hands a great impetus has been given to the erection of temples and to the manufacture of idols in Northern India. In Benares, temples have multiplied at a prodigious rate, and this rate, at the present moment, is we believe rather increasing than diminishing. Judging from its external appearances Hinduism was never so flourishing as it is now. With general prosperity and universal peace, and with a Government based on neutral principles, and always very respectful to the national religious systems, Hinduism under the leadership of men of the old school—princes, pundits, banyas, and priests,—is making extraordinary efforts to maintain its position against the new doctrines of European civilization and religion which they now begin to recognize as formidable opponents. The remarks of the Rev. Dr. Mullens, on the extension of Hinduism, materially and outwardly, in 'Christian Work' for July 1861, strongly bear out these observations:—

'There can be little doubt,' he says, 'that a hundred years ago, the temples, mosques, and shrines of India belonging to all the native religions, were by no means in a flourishing condition. Large numbers, indeed, must have been in a state of decay. The anarchy that prevailed throughout the Mogul empire after the death of Aurungzebe, the constant wars, the terrible visits of foreign armies, the civil contests, the struggles of petty landholders, all tended to produce a state of insecurity, which paralysed trade, which even hindered agriculture, and involved all classes in a poverty which the empire had not suffered for many years. Never were invasions more fierce; never were famines more cruel. Though freed from the persecutions of the bigoted emperor, the temples suffered grievously from the general want; and it was probably only in the Mahratta provinces that Hinduism flourished; in them realizing its prosperity from the plunder of successful Mahratta armies, whose piety rewarded the shrines of their protecting divinities with a shower of endowments and offerings which remain in measure to the present day. Hinduism now is, externally, in a much more flourishing condition than it was then. All over North India especially, the native merchants and bankers who have prospered by English protection, by contracts with English armies, by the security given by English law to their extensive trade, have filled Benares and other cities with new and costly shrines; and many a Rajah, and many a banker, when visiting in state the holy city, has poured into the lap of the attendant

' priests unheard-of sums, which must have satisfied even their
' covetous and grasping souls. Thus strangely has the revival
' of prosperity under English rule added something of external
' strength to the ancient idolatry, the resources of which had in
' so many places begun to fail. The new school, enlightened and
' doubting, ceases to build new temples, or endow the old ones.
' The old school, prospering in trade, growing in wealth, still
' trusting to the ancient superstitions, and anxious to earn merit
' for themselves, build new temples and present new gifts;
' though feeling that the days of their faith are numbered, and
' that other views are gradually pressing their own into oblivion.'

It remains to be seen whether the new religion or the old—Christianity or Hinduism—is the more powerful. The contest between them has already commenced. It is felt throughout all the divisions of native society. It is inflaming the blood of the higher castes, and is calling forth all the subtlety of the Brahmins, all their intellect, and all their mysterious authority. We must expect the opposition to Christianity to be in many places organized and systematic, determined and dogged. But if Christians in India be faithful to themselves and to their Divine Master, the triumph of their cause is certain.

Upwards of thirty years ago Mr. James Prinsep, then Magistrate of Benares, took a census of the city, and also made a computation of the number of temples and mosques existing in it. From his calculation, which was made with considerable care, there were at that time in the city proper, exclusive of the suburbs, 1,000 Hindu temples and 333 Mahomedan mosques. But this number of temples, which has since been much increased, did not include, we imagine, the small shrines, the niches in the walls, the cavities inside and outside many of the houses, and the spaces on the ghauts, in which images in immense multitudes were and are still deposited. These secondary shrines, if they be worthy of this designation, each occupied by one or more idols, are in some parts of the city exceedingly numerous. Figures of every form, from a plain stone to the most fantastic shape, whole and mutilated, painted and unpainted, some without adornment, and others decorated with garlands, or wet with sacred water, meet the eye in every direction. These remarks especially refer to the neighbourhood of the bathing ghauts and of the principal temples. Yet all over the city idols and temples are seen scattered in marvellous prodigality.

The Hindus have a strange fancy for accumulating idols in certain spots. Not content with depositing one image in a temple, they ornament its portico and walls with deities, or

arrange them in rows in the temple enclosure. You may sometimes see twenty, fifty, and even a hundred of these idols in one place, many of which will perhaps receive as much homage as the god who is exalted to the chief seat within the temple itself. If it would be difficult to count the small shrines and sacred niches abounding in the city, it would be incomparably more so to count the idols actually worshipped by the people. These inferior shrines were on one occasion by a curious contrivance immensely increased, and yet the increase could hardly have been generally perceived. Rajah Mán Singh of Jeypore wishing to present one hundred thousand temples to the city, made this stipulation, that they were all to be commenced and finished in one day. The plan hit upon was, to cut out on blocks of stone a great many tiny niches, each one representing a temple. The separate blocks, therefore, on the work being completed, exhibited from top to bottom and on all sides a mass of minute temples. These blocks are still to be seen in various parts of Benares, the largest being situated above the Dassasumedh Ghant, near the Mán Mandil observatory. In regard to the number of idols of every description actually worshipped by the people, it certainly exceeds the number of people themselves, though multiplied twice over, and cannot be less than half a million, but may be many more. Indeed the love for idolatry is so deep-seated and intense in the breast of the Hindu, that it is a common thing for both men and women to amuse themselves with a pious intent with manufacturing little gods from mud or clay, and after paying divine honours to them, and that too with the same profound reverence which they display in their devotions before the well-known deities of the temples, to throw them away.

Although most of the temples are of modern date, yet the old sites still remain, where for many ages shrines dedicated to certain deities have stood, and have been adored by a ceaseless stream of Hindu worshippers. It is therefore a common reply which one receives on inquiring the date of any given shrine, that it is without date and has existed for ever. These original sites are numerous, and each has a history of its own. For instance, the pundits say that Ganesh is worshipped in fifty-six places, the goddess Yogani in sixty-four, Durga in nine, Bhairo in eight, Shíva in eleven, Vishnu in one, and the Sun in twelve, all of which date from the mythical period when Deodáss, the famous Rajah of Benares whose name is a household word among the people, was prevailed on to permit the gods to return to their ancient and sacred home. But these places do

not by any means represent the present number of shrines at which these deities are venerated. Ganesh especially, the god of wisdom, son of Shiva and Parvati, is very extensively worshipped in Benares; and there is scarcely a temple in some niche or corner of which his ill-shapen figure may not be found.

The temple receiving the highest meed of honour in the whole city is that dedicated to the god Bisheshwar or Shiva, whose image is the lingam or a plain stone set up on end. Bisheshwar is the reigning deity of Benares, and in the opinion of the people holds the position of king over all the other deities, as well as over all the inhabitants residing not only within the city itself, but also within the circuit of the Panch-kosi road or sacred boundary of Benares extending for nearly fifty miles. In issuing his orders he acts through Bhaironath, who is the deified kotwal or god-magistrate of Benares and its extensive suburbs. Every matter of importance is presumed to be brought in a regular manner by the kotwal before his royal master. The agents of the kotwal are stationed all along the Panch-kosi road, and are the gods or idols located there, who are supposed to act as chowkidars or watchmen over the entire boundary. The office of these watchmen is to ward off all evil from the sacred city, to contend with such enemies as they may meet with endeavouring to break in upon the outer enclosure, and to send in their reports to the god-magistrate Bhaironath.

Bisheshwar in his capacity of idol-king of Benares demands the homage of his subjects, and will not resign his rights to the other deities who throng his dominions. His subjects must first of all worship him, and must bring their offerings to his shrine, of which he, or rather his rapacious priests, are exceedingly fond. Although without mouth or throat, his thirst seems to be great, for one of the most plentiful offerings presented to him, is that of Ganges water, with which in the hot season he is kept perpetually drenched.

It is no matter of surprise, therefore, that Bisheshwar should receive more adoration than any other idol in Benares. Not only the permanent inhabitants of the city, but also pilgrims and other travellers may be seen pressing into the temple during the greater portion of the day. The worshippers are of all classes and conditions, and present a singular and even picturesque variety of appearance. Among the most prominent of these is, we need hardly say, the proud, half-naked Brahmin, with shaven head, save a long tuft depending from his crown behind, the *Jauca* or sacred thread being thrown over one shoulder or ear, and the symbol of Shiva being displayed upon his forehead,

who performs his devotions with punctilious nicety. The faqir too, in almost primitive nakedness, his hair dyed and matted together, and his body bedaubed with ashes, though scarcely noticed by other people arrests the attention of the stranger. Few of the men have much clothing upon their persons, and yet many of them, by their carriage and by the jewels and gold with which they are adorned, show that they occupy a very respectable position in native society. The women are for the most part thoroughly clothed, and some of them occasionally are profusely decorated with gold and silver ornaments studded with precious stones. All the worshippers carry offerings in their hands, consisting of sugar, rice, ghee, grain, flowers, water, &c. One of the most beautiful of the flowers presented is the lotus, the form and colour of which bear some resemblance to a large tulip or water-lily.

Over the narrow doorway which constitutes the chief entrance to the temple, is a small figure of Ganesh, upon which some of the worshippers as they pass in sprinkle a few drops of water. On entering the enclosure several shrines are visible. The worshipper pays his homage to any god or all, as he may elect, but he must of necessity approach the paramount deity of the place, that is to say, the plain oblong stone already alluded to. He makes his obeisance to the god either by bowing his head, his hands being folded in adoration, or by prostrating himself upon the ground; after which he presents his offering, and rings one of the bells suspended from the roof of the temple. This is to arrest the attention of the god—for it is possible he may be asleep, or otherwise occupied—and to fix it upon himself. The adoration of an idolater is sometimes distressingly solemn. His whole soul seems to be overawed, but with what sentiments, it is impossible to affirm; and the solemnity, if any, is singularly transient, and only lasts so long as he is in the presence of the idol. It is difficult to analyze his feelings, or to affirm precisely that they are of this or of that nature; nevertheless, there can be little doubt that his mind is occasionally filled with dread and anxiety, amounting it may be to alarm. The idolater cherishes no love for the idols he worships, but, on the contrary, regards them as beings to be feared, and therefore to be propitiated by adoration and suitable offerings. Nearly all the worshippers engage in their devotions in a quiet, orderly, and decent manner, but with manifest perfunctoriness and with little or no thought beyond the desire to perform thoroughly the task they have set themselves even to the minutest particular.

The temple of Bisheshwar is situated in the midst of a quadrangle covered in with a roof, above which the tower of the

temple is seen. At each corner is a dome, and at the south-east corner a temple sacred to Shiva. When observed in the distance from the elevation of the roof, the building presents three distinct divisions. The first is the spire of a temple of Mahadeo, whose base is in the quadrangle below. The second is a large gilded dome. And the third is the gilded tower of the temple of Bisheshwar itself. These three objects are all in a row in the centre of the quadrangle, filling up most of the space from one side to the other. The carving upon them is not particularly striking; but the dome and tower glittering in the sun look like vast masses of burnished gold. They are, however, only covered with gold leaf, which is spread over plates of copper overlaying the stones beneath. The expense of gilding them was borne by the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh of Lahore. The tower, dome, and spire, terminate severally in a sharp point. Attached to the first is a high pole bearing a small flag and ending with a trident. The temple of Bisheshwar inclusive of the tower is fifty-one feet in height. The space between the temples of Bisheshwar and Mahadeo, beneath the dome, is used as a belfry, and as many as nine bells are suspended in it. One is of elegant workmanship, and was presented to the temple by the Rajah of Nepaul.

Outside the enclosure to the north, is a large collection of deities raised upon a platform, called by the natives 'the court of Mahadeo.' They are for the most part male and female emblems. Several small idols likewise are built into the wall flanking this court. These are evidently not of modern manufacture. Their age, however, does not seem to be known. The probability is, that they were taken from the ruins of the old temple of Bisheshwar which stood to the north-west of the present structure and was demolished by the emperor Aurungzebe in the seventeenth century. Extensive remains of this ancient temple are still visible. They form a large portion of the western wall of the Mahomedan mosque, which was built upon its site by this bigoted conqueror of the Hindus. Judging from the proportions of these ruins, it is manifest that the former temple of Bisheshwar must have been both loftier and more capacious than the existing structure; and the courtyard is four or five times more spacious than the entire area occupied by the modern temple. The architecture of the ruins seems to be of a mixed character, and composed both of Jain and Hindu orders. If this conjecture be correct, the old Hindu temple must have been preceded by a Jain temple. Indeed it is not impossible that a few slight traces of Buddhist architecture might be detected also. What makes this latter supposition plausible is, that on

three sides of the perpendicular face of the terrace on which the mosque stands, Buddhist pillars of a simple and very early type, forming recesses or rooms, but which were originally in all probability cloisters, are distinctly visible.

The mosque, though not small, is by no means an imposing object. It is plain and uninteresting, and displays scarcely any carving or other ornament. Within and without, its walls are besmeared with a dirty whitewash mixed with a little colouring matter. Its most interesting feature is a row of Buddhist or Hindu columns in the front elevation. The presence of this mosque, erected under such insulting circumstances in a place held so sacred by the Hindus and around which their closest sympathies are gathered, is a constant source of heart-burnings and feuds both to Hindus and Mahomedans. The former, while unwillingly allowing the latter to retain the mosque, claim the courtyard between it and the wall as their own. Consequently, they will not permit the Mahomedans to enter the mosque by more than one public entrance, which instead of being in front of that building, is situated on one side of it. The Mahomedans have many times wished to build a gateway in the midst of the spacious platform in front of the mosque, but although they once erected a gateway, they were not suffered to make use of it, on account of the excitement which the circumstance occasioned among the Hindu population, which was only allayed by the timely interference of the Magistrate of Benares. The gateway still stands, but the space between the pillars has been filled up. A peepul tree, adored as a god, overhangs both the gateway and the road; but the Hindus will not allow the Mahomedans to pluck a single leaf from it. The Collector of Benares, as a kind of trustee of the mosque, still pays periodically the interest of money belonging to it deposited in his hands, notwithstanding the Act lately passed forbidding such a practice.

Between the mosque and the temple of Bisheshwar, is the famous well known as Gyán Bápee or Gyán Kúp, the 'well of knowledge,' in which, as the natives believe, the god Shiva resides. Tradition says, that once on a time no rain fell in Benares for the space of twelve years, and that in consequence great distress was experienced by the inhabitants. In order to provide water for the people, and so to relieve them from the terrible calamity which had befallen them, a *rishi*—one of the mythical beings not exactly divine and certainly not mortal, who to the number of eighty-seven thousand, are revered by the Hindus—grasping the trident of Shiva, dug up the earth at this spot, and forthwith there issued from beneath a copious

supply of water. Shiva, on becoming acquainted with the circumstance, promised to take up his abode in the well and to reside there for ever. It is stated, moreover, that on occasion of the destruction of the old temple of Bisheshwar, a priest took the idol of the temple and threw it down for safety. The natives visit this well in multitudes, and cast in water or flowers and other offerings as a sacrifice to the deity below. The compound mixture thus produced is necessarily in a constant state of putrefaction, and emits a most disgusting odour. The well is surrounded by a handsome low-roofed colonnade, the stone pillars of which are in four rows and are upwards of forty in number. The building is small, but has been designed and executed with considerable taste. It is of very recent date, and was erected in the year 1828 by Sri Maut Baija Bai, widow of Sri Maut Dowlat Rao Sindhia Bahadoor of Gwalior.

Immediately to the east of this colonnade is the figure of a large bull about seven feet high, cut in stone, dedicated to the god Mahadeo; and a few steps farther east is a temple built in honour of the same deity. The bull is a gift of the Rajah of Nepaul, and the temple of the Ranee of Hyderabad. On the south side of the colonnade is an iron palisade, in the enclosure of which are two small shrines, one of white marble, the other of stone, and between them a scaffolding of carved stone, from which a bell is suspended.

Standing in this courtyard, the chief objects in which have been thus briefly described, and looking beyond in a north-westerly direction, the eye falls on a temple about sixty feet in height situated one hundred and fifty yards distant from the mosque. This is Ad-Bisheshwar, that is, the first or original temple of Bisheshwar. The natives in the neighbourhood all regard this shrine as of an epoch anterior to that of the old Bisheshwar, the ruins of which, as already narrated, form a constituent portion of Aurungzebe's mosque. Hence the name attached to it. This temple is surmounted by a large dome, the decaying condition of which is visible in the gaps on its outer surface caused by the falling away of broad thick flakes of cement of which it is composed. The temple below, however, which is faced with slabs of stone as far as the base of the dome, has been lately extensively repaired by a tobaccoist in the neighbourhood, named Ganpat, who has embellished its interior with paintings traced on the walls, making them look fresh and modern. There is really nothing in this temple of an ancient character, but on the eastern side of the enclosure the ground becomes considerably elevated, and upon it stands a

mosque built of very old materials, the pillars of which date as far back as the Gupta period, and possibly earlier. May not these old stones and pillars be remains of the original Bisheshwar? Formerly a communication was open between the enclosure of Ad-Bisheshwar and the courtyard of Aurungzebe's mosque already described, but it is now closed.

Káshi Karwat, a sacred well of some repute, is situated a short distance to the east of Ad-Bisheshwar. Besides the vertical opening, there is a passage leading down to the water, which formerly was traversed daily by religious Hindus desirous of approaching the holiest part of the well. A few years ago a fanatic offered himself in sacrifice to Shiva, the god of the well, when the authorities caused the passage to be closed, but on the priests representing that their revenues would greatly suffer were it to be kept permanently shut, permission was given for it to be opened once a week, namely every Monday.

This neighbourhood is exceedingly rich in temples of most elaborate workmanship. Some of them from the summit to the base are one mass of curious and intricate carving. Not that the designs represented on them, although in some cases elegant, display any remarkable reach of thought; yet the execution of them is a marvellous feat of chiselling. On the south side of Bisheshwar stands one such temple. The gateways leading into the courtyard and into the fane itself, are both extensively carved, and in addition the latter is crowded with figures intermingled with a multitude of short gilded spires.

Proceeding a little beyond these temples, we come to a small shrine dedicated to Sanichar, or the planet Saturn. The deity within, representing the planet, exhibits a silver head, beneath which depends an apron or what has the appearance of such. The truth is, the idol is bodiless, and the apron conceals the want. A garland of flowers hangs from either ear, falling below the chin; while above the figure a canopy is spread, designed, we imagine, to illustrate the majesty of the god. It is said of this deity, that for seven years and a half he troubles the life of every man, but that he exempts his own worshippers from the trials and disasters which for this period he brings on the rest of mankind.

A few steps further on is Anpoorna, a goddess of great repute in Benares, inasmuch as, under the express orders of Bisheshwar, she is supposed to feed all its inhabitants and to take care that none suffer from hunger. The people have a tradition, that when Benares was first inhabited, Anpoorna found that the task of feeding so many persons was too heavy for her. Filled with anxiety she knew not what step to take. The

goddess of the Ganges or Gunga, generously came to her relief, and told her that if she would give a handful of *gram* to every applicant, she herself would give a *lotah* of water. Anpoorna was comforted with the suggestion, in which she acquiesced; and the arrangement thus made produced the most satisfactory results. In honour of Anpoorna, the nourisher of the people, a custom prevails among all classes, by which hundreds and even thousands of the poor are daily supplied with food. It is this. Those persons that can afford it put aside a quantity of gram and moisten it over night, and in the morning give it away in handfuls to the poor. Only one handful is given to each person, but as he and all the members of his family can each procure a handful, after collecting a supply from a number of donors, they are able by the middle of the day to obtain in the aggregate a goodly quantity, which they first dry, and then either cook for the relief of their mutual wants, or sell in the bazar. We have been told that the great consumption in this way of this particular kind of grain, is one reason why its price is so high in Benares.

On the ground in front of the entrance to the temple of Anpoorna, beggars are seated during most of the day, some of whom have cups in their hands into which the worshippers as they go in and out of the temple throw minute quantities of grain or rice. Passing through the doorway into the quadrangle, a similar system of almsgiving and almstaking displays itself. The priests of the temple too receive offerings for the poor, in addition to the presents appropriated to themselves. In one corner of the enclosure is a stone box, which is the common treasury for the reception of the gifts intended for this object. In it may be seen a singular medley of rice, grain, water, flowers, milk, &c., which, though perhaps not distressing to a Hindu's stomach, would upset a European's. Not that the whole of this medley is eaten, but the rice and grain and other edible substances are separated from the rest and distributed among the applicants.

The temple of Anpoorna was erected 150 years ago by the Rajah of Poona. It possesses a tower, and also a dome which is carved and ornamented after the Hindu fashion. The dome is sustained by pillars, between which a bell is suspended, which is kept almost constantly sounding, for, as soon as one worshipper leaves it, another, having performed his devotions, takes his place in beating it. The bells in this and other Hindu temples are not rung, but are beaten with the clapper or tongue depending from within. The carved portions of this temple were once partially or entirely painted, and the painting in the interstices is still

visible. The goddess within the temple is regarded by the natives as a handsome creature. She exhibits the weakness of her sex in her fondness for ornaments, for in addition to her necklace of jewels and silver eyes, she occasionally wears a mask of gold or burnished copper, and thus endeavours to increase her charms and fascinate her beholders. The temple occupies a large portion of the quadrangle, and stands in its centre. In one corner of this quadrangle is a small shrine dedicated to the Sun. The idol representing the Sun is seated in a chariot drawn by seven horses, and is surrounded by a glory indicative of the rays of light which he emits from his person in all directions. In a second corner is another shrine, in which is an image of Gouri Shankar and the stone box or receptacle before alluded to. In a third is a large figure of Hanumán, the monkey god, in bas-relief; and in a fourth a figure of Ganesh, with the head of an elephant and the body of a man.

Not far from the temple of Anpoorna is the temple of Sháki Binaik, or the 'witness-bearing Binaik.' Pilgrims on completing the journey of the Panch-kosi road must pay a visit to this shrine, in order that the fact of their pilgrimage may be verified. Should they neglect to do this, all their pilgrimage would be without merit and profit. The temple is in a square, and was erected by a Mahratta about 100 years ago. On the road between these two temples is a red glaring figure of the god Ganesh, with silver hands, trunk, feet, ears, and poll, squatting down on the floor which is raised a little above the pathway. The oddity of this painted monster would excite one's laughter, were the mind not distressed at the thought that it received divine honours.

Near the temple of Bisheshwar and to the south of Sanichar is a small shrine dedicated to the planet Venus or Shukreshwar, which is visited by persons desirous of becoming the parents of handsome sons. It is said that this god will bestow a fine son on his worshippers even though Fate should not have conferred one on them; and so long as he lives in Benares he will pass his time happily, and at death will depart to Shiva.

The temple of Bhaironath is situated upwards of a mile to the north of the temple of Bisheshwar. The god of this shrine, as already described, is in public estimation the deified kotwal or chief magistrate of Benares and its suburbs as far as the Panch-kosi road, within the circuit of which, under the orders of his royal master Bisheshwar, he exercises divine authority over both gods and men. He is bound to keep the city free from evil spirits and evil persons; and should he find any such within its sacred precincts, to expel them forthwith. As it is through his

care and energy that its inhabitants and all others who may conceive the pious design of ending their days in this hallowed spot, eventually, it is supposed, obtain salvation, it is of the utmost importance that he perform the functions of his high office wisely and well. It is a natural result therefore of his possessing such vast authority, that for the execution of his orders he should have deemed it right to arm himself with a big stick. This stick is no figment of the imagination, but a veritable cudgel of enormous thickness, not indeed of wood, but, what is more terrible, of stone. It is called Dandpán, from *danda* a stick, and in common belief is nothing less than divine. Whether from a desire to enjoy as much tranquillity as possible or from the universal Hindu custom to shift anxiety and trouble from one shoulder to another, we cannot say, but Bhairo has considerably issued his commands to it, to beat any person who may be found working mischief; and having done so has resigned himself to a life of ease. So that in fact this intelligent stick is *de facto* the divine magistrate of the city. It is strange, however, that the temple in which Dandpán is deposited is not that of Bhaironath, but is another situated at a short distance off. The stone representing this singular deity is about four feet in height, and is specially worshipped every Tuesday and Sunday by a great many people. It is set up on end, the upper extremity receiving occasionally the adjunct of a silver mask or face, but when our wondering eyes beheld it, there was only the bare stone visible with a garland depending from the upper extremity. In front of the stick three bells were hanging, and on one side a priest sat with a rod in his hands made of peacock's feathers, with which in the name of Dandpán he gently tapped the worshippers, and thereby professedly inflicted punishment upon them for the offences of which they were guilty. In this temple are other remarkable objects, which will be presently referred to. The worship of Dandpán, and the functions attributed to this extraordinary divinity, constitute a climax of absurdity. But the Hindu is as solemn in the presence of the divine stick administering, as he imagines, divine justice, as though it were the chief judge of the Sudder Adawlut, and is totally unconscious of the ludicrous position he occupies.

But to return to Bhaironath. The wall on either side of the door leading into the enclosure is decorated with paintings. On the right is a large figure of Bhaironath or Bhairo (for he possesses both titles) himself, depicted in a deep blue colour approaching to black; and behind him is the figure of a dog intended for him to ride on. This animal is called Váhan, and in the neighbourhood of the temple the sweetmeat-seller makes small

images of a dog in sugar, which the worshippers purchase and present to Bhaironath as an offering. On the left side of the doorway is a larger figure of a dog; and above it are ten small paintings representing the ten incarnations of Vishnu. The door itself is carved and embellished not inelegantly. On passing through into the quadrangle, one is struck with the confined position of the temple, which fills up a large portion of the entire area, so that from the quadrangle itself it is impossible to gain more than a very limited view of its upper part. The base of the tower is on three sides built of plain stone terminating in a castellated parapet, from within which the beautifully carved steeple rises to a considerable height. The shaft is surrounded by an immense number of tiny domes ascending in successive series up to the apex, which consists of a gilded dome.

The entrance to the temple is on the north side. In front of the shrine occupied by the idol is the porch or more properly the belfry, in which four bells are suspended. This porch rests upon pillars, and is painted and decorated according to Hindu taste and after the most approved models. A devotee is seated to the right and left of the porch with a rod of peacock's feathers by his side, with which he performs mesmeric passes over children, women, and other people, and thereby it is believed wards off from them imps and evil spirits, who may wish to do them harm. He also keeps in a prominent position a cup made from a cocoa-nut shell into which he expects a proper amount of pice to be thrown to pay for the mysterious operation. The threshold of the shrine is guarded by two idols called severally Dwárpáleshwar, which stand in niches one on either side of the doorway. The trident too with prongs painted red, symbol of Bhaironath's authority, stands upright by the wall. The interior of the shrine consists a small room, and on one side of it is a diminutive shrine made entirely of copper, which is the habitation of the god Bhaironath. The idol is of stone, but his face is of silver. He possesses four hands, and stands in a grotesque posture. His head is encinctured with garlands, which hang down in front; and a small oil lamp is kept burning near by. A priest sits close by and applies *kundee*, a kind of dun-coloured powder, to the temples of the worshippers. The shrine is surmounted by a dome, which is also of copper, and a bell is suspended in front. As both the god and his priests have a liking for ardent spirits, this is one of the offerings presented to him. Dogs are permitted to enter the interior of his temple, which is owing doubtless to the circumstance of his having selected the dog as his Váhan; but they are not permitted to enter other temples.

This building was erected upwards of forty years ago by Bajee Rao of Poonah, on the site of the old temple, a small edifice which was thrown down to make room for the new one. Outside the quadrangle on the south side is a small shrine remarkable for the evident antiquity of some of the idols in it. One of these is a figure of Bhaironath himself, now much defaced from the wear and tear of time. It is not improbable that this is the original Bhaironath, which was discarded on account of its mutilated appearance and in order to make room for the modernized deity. There are other images in this temple, among them Mahadeo, Ganesh, and Surajnarain or the Sun.

On the west side of the quadrangle, a few paces up a narrow court, is a shrine dedicated to Sítála, or the goddess of small-pox. In it are seven figures in bas-relief representing seven sisters—for this dreaded goddess is in reality a seven-fold deity. She has four temples devoted to her worship in Benares.

A short distance east of Bhaironath, and between it and Dandpán, is a temple sacred to Naugrah, or the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Ráhu, and Ketú. The first seven bear in Hindi the names of the seven days of the week beginning with Sunday. The Naugrah in popular estimation is a very formidable collection of deities. It is customary for the Hindus to commence every important religious ceremony, as, for instance, that of marriage, with the worship of them, for unless they be propitiated they may vitiate the entire ceremony. The idols are placed in the temple in three rows, three being in each row. The temple remains closed all the day long, but is opened every morning, when a priest comes and performs *pūja*, that is, worships the idols and presents the necessary offerings. This is the only temple dedicated to Naugrah in Benares.

Proceeding down this narrow street and passing under an archway to the left, you come to the temple of Dandpán, already partially described. Here is also a famous well called Kál-kúp, or the Well of Death. Over the trellis-work of the outer wall of the building is a square hole, which is so situated in relation to the sun that at twelve o'clock in the day its rays passing through the hole impinge upon the water in the well below. At this hour of the day the well is visited by persons wishing to search into the secrets of the Future; and woe be to the man who is unable to trace the shadow of himself in the fatal water, for his doom is certainly and irrevocably fixed, and within six months from that instant he will inevitably die. The general ignorance respecting the explanation of this daily phenomenon, does not speak much for the scientific knowledge

of the Hindus or even for their common sense. Under the same roof is an image of Mahá-Kál, or Great Death. This god virtually bestows salvation on his worshippers, for on their departure from the world he spreads over them the ægis of his protection, and prohibits Kál or Death from conveying them to the regions of Hell. Here likewise are the figures of the five brothers, or Páñch Pandua, whose names are celebrated in the Mahábhárat.

No lover of the marvellous should pass through Benares without paying a visit to Mankarnika, the famous well of Hindu mythology. It is the first place sought after by the thousands of pilgrims flocking yearly to the holy city, who are drawn towards it by a mysterious and irresistible fascination. Its fetid water is regarded as a healing balm, which will infallibly wash away all the sins of the soul and make it pure and holy. There is no sin so heinous or abominable, which in popular estimation it cannot instantly efface. Even for the crime of murder it can it is said procure forgiveness. No wonder therefore that conscience-stricken sinners should rush to this well from all quarters, and deluding themselves by its reputed sanctity, should by the easy process of washing in its foulness, seek to atone in one minute for the crimes and sins of a life-time. Yet it is appalling to think that the human soul, thus conscious of its guilt and perhaps in many instances in agony respecting it, and anxious for pardon and for reconciliation with God, should be so cruelly mocked and deceived. Of all places of pilgrimage throughout Hindostan this well is held by many to be the most, or among the most, efficacious for bestowing salvation. Yet the story connected with its origin is wild enough. The author of Káshi Khand, not in jest, as some might suppose, but gravely and soberly, furnishes the following account of the matter:—

‘The god Vishnu,’ he says, ‘dug this well with his discus, and in the place of water filled it with the perspiration from his own body, and gave it the name of chakr-pushkarni. He then proceeded to its north side and began to practise asceticism. In the meantime the god Mahadeo arrived and looking into the well beheld in it the beauty of a hundred millions of suns, with which he was so enraptured that he at once broke out into loud praises of Vishnu, and in his joy declared that whatever gift he might ask of him he would grant. Gratified at the offer, Vishnu replied that his request was that Mahadeo should always reside with him. Mahadeo hearing this, felt greatly flattered by it, and his body shook with delight. From the violence of the motion

'an ear-ring called Mankarnik fell from his ear into the well. From this circumstance Mahadeo gave the well the name of Mankarnika and endowed it with two properties, the first Muktsheer, that of bestowing salvation on its worshippers, and the second Puransubhakarni, that of granting accomplishment to every good work; and commanded that it should be the chief and most efficacious of pilgrimages.'

Such is the tale as found in Káshi Khand; but there is another version current among the people, which is just as likely to be correct. It is reported that Mahadeo and his wife Párbati were one day seated by the well, when accidentally a jewel fell from the ear of Párbati into the water, on account of which circumstance Mahadeo named the well Mankarnika. Mr. Prinsep, in his 'Views of Benares,' makes the following remarks on this subject:—'After Kashi had been created by the united will of Iswur and Párbati, the two incorporated energies of the formless and qualityless Bruhm, the active pair determined to give their paradise the benefit of an inhabitant, and Poorooshotama (the supreme male, Vishnoo,) became manifest. Shiva gave him instructions how to behave himself, and left him to his own meditations; whereupon, as a first exploit, with his chakra or discus, he dug the tank denominated from its origin the chakr-pushkarni. He then engaged in the usual course of austerity, at the sight of which Shiva shook his head in astonishment, and one of his ear-rings fell; whence the name of the ghat Manikarnika (jewel of the ear.) Vishnoo upon this spot also obtained as a boon from Mahadeo the privilege which Kashi enjoys, of giving *mookti* or emancipation to all objects, especially those who bestow gifts, erect *lingas*, and do not commit suicide within the holy precincts.'

A series of stone steps on each of the four sides of the well leads down to the water. The seven lowermost steps are said to be without a join, and to belong to the original well as built by divine hands, and although the singular fact of several joins being visible is to the uninitiated a slight difficulty in the way of such an assertion, yet the Hindus, brushing aside such a trivial circumstance, readily swallow the explanation given by the Brahmins, that the joins are only superficial and do not penetrate through the stones. Upon the stairs, in a niche on the north side, is a figure of Vishnu; and at the mouth of the well on the west side is a row of sixteen diminutive altars on which pilgrims present offerings to their ancestors. The water of the well is very shallow, being not more than two or three feet in depth. It is insufferably foul, and the effluvia from it impregnate the air for some distance around. The wor-

shipper descending into the water laves his head and body with the vile liquid, and at the same time utters certain phrases appointed for the ceremony.

Directly in front of Mankarnika and between it and the Ganges, is the temple of Tárakeshwar, or the god of salvation. When a Hindu dies and this god is propitiated, he breathes into his ear, they say, a charm or *mantra* of such efficacy that it delivers him from the misery of the Future and secures for him happiness and joy. The idol is in a kind of cistern, which is kept filled with water offered in sacrifice; and consequently is invisible. In the rainy season the swollen river flows beyond this temple, which for several months stands imbedded in the stream. Its foundations are thereby undermined, and the blocks of stone of which it is composed are prone to separate from one another. The upper part of the tower has been entirely removed, in order to lessen the weight resting upon the base of the building.

Upon the Mankarnika Ghaut, on higher ground than that occupied by the Tárakeshwar temple, is a large round slab called charan-páduka projecting slightly from the pavement, and in the middle of it stands a stone pedestal, the top of which is inlaid with marble. In the centre of the marble are two small flat objects representing the two feet of Vishnu. The tradition is, that this deity selected this exact spot for the performance of ascetic rites and the worship of Mahadeo. It is consequently held in great veneration by the natives, and receives divine honours. In the month Kartik multitudes of people flock to Vishnu's feet, imagining that all who worship them are guaranteed a sure introduction to heaven. Mr. Prinsep observes, that 'the charan-páduka (impression of Vishnu's feet,) is said to mark the spot on which he alighted. It is distinguished by the figure of two feet cut in white marble in the centre of a round slab, probably intended to represent the *chakr* or discus; but as the *charan* is generally thought to be peculiar to Buddha and Jain places of worship, the emblem is probably of modern and spurious introduction where it is here set up. There is another *páduka* near the mouth of the Burna Nála.'

The Mankarnika Ghaut, while the most sacred of all the ghauts in Benares, is also the middle point between them all, so that, were the city divided into two portions at this place, they would be nearly equal in extent. Ascending the second flight of stairs we come to a temple of ancient reputation, but probably of modern construction, occupied by Sidh-binaik, or Ganesh. Imagine a figure painted red, having three eyes, a silver-plated scalp ornamented with a garland of flowers, and

an elephant's trunk, this last member being hidden behind a cloth which conceals a large portion of the idol, and in front is so tucked in as to resemble the cloth which a barber wraps about a man previous to shaving him. At the feet of the god is the figure of a rat, the animal on which he is supposed to ride, and also a miniature fountain. On either side of the inner shrine is a statue of a woman, one being called Sidhy, and the other Budhy.

Near to Mankarnika Ghaut is Sindhia Ghaut, which is remarkable not only for the massiveness of its masonry, but also for the circumstance that the entire structure has sunk several feet into the earth since its erection, and is still gradually and slowly sinking. The ghaut consists of three rows of towers or turrets. The uppermost row possesses two turrets, one at each extremity, which are the largest of the whole and are exceedingly heavy. The second lower down has six turrets, and the third, five. These turrets are called *murrees* by the natives, and are used by them for sitting upon in the cool of the day, or for retiring to after bathing in the Ganges. They are of stone, and are connected together by walls and stairs of the same material. Before the ghaut could be completed the masonry began to sink; and on one occasion so violent was the motion that a loud report like the discharge of cannon was heard. A temple to the left of the south turret is rent from the summit to the base, and the entire building is so dilapidated that it looks as if it had been shaken by an earthquake. The ghaut itself, and also the stairs leading up to the top of the huge breastwork uniting the two largest turrets, exhibit an immense rent which is carried down to the very base of the ghaut. The breastwork likewise together with the turrets is out of its perpendicular, and has a remarkable appearance. In some places the stones are more than two feet apart. The people residing in the neighbourhood say, that the ghaut has sunk some ten or twelve feet in all, and that inasmuch as stair after stair continually though slowly vanishes, they know that the subsidence is still going on. This ghaut was built by Baija Bai, the same lady who erected the colonnade round the well Gyán Bápee—but it is not yet completed, and there is no hope that it ever will be.

The temple of Bidhikál, situated on the northern side of the city, is interesting both for its antiquity and extent, as well as for the singular legends connected with its primitive history. It formerly possessed twelve separate courts or quadrangles, but now only seven are in existence, and several of these are fast falling into ruin. Indeed the aspect of the entire building is

that of decay. The site of the other five courts and of the gardens once attached to the temple, is occupied by dwelling houses. When this shrine was in its glory it must have been a place of some magnificence. The pile of buildings now standing has a hoary appearance, the effect of which is greatly increased by its ruinous condition. The tradition respecting the origin of the temple is, that in the Satjug an old Rajah in ill-health visited Benares, and there diligently performed ascetic rites and religious ceremonies. The god Mahadeo was so gratified with the piety of the old man, that he not only dispelled his sickness, but also caused him to become young again. In honour of this deity, therefore, the Rajah erected the present temple, and gave it the name of *Bridhkál*, which is a compound of two words 'bridh' or more properly 'vridhh' and 'kál,' the former meaning *old*, and the latter *time*. Mahadeo endowed it with two remarkable properties, the one, that of healing disease, and the other, that of prolonging life. The temple is one of the oldest in the city, and stands on the boundary of Benares Proper, indisputably the most ancient portion of the city, where it unites itself with Káshi, a less ancient portion.

On ascending the steps and traversing the passage running from the doorway to the inner part of the edifice, we are met by a red figure of Mahábír standing within a shrine at the corner of a court into which the passage leads. Close by, to the right, is a small temple dedicated to the goddess Kálee—a small black deity cut out of stone dressed in a red garment with a garland of flowers hanging from the neck. In front of her is a hollow space in the form of a square, for the residence of Mahadeo; and outside of it a bull for the god to ride on.

To the right of Kálee, leaning upon the wall, are figures of Ganesh and Párbati, and to the left of the latter are images representing Bhairó, the Sun, Hanumán, and Lachminarain or Vishnu, and his wife Lachmi. Immediately opposite to the temple of Kálee are two wells. The first is shallow, and contains putrid water, whose disgusting odour fills the entire court. Into this well sick persons and those wishing for long life plunge their bodies. The former also take various medicines and resort to other useful means for regaining their health, and should they recover, the fetid well gets the credit of their restoration. Should the disease however be of an inveterate character, such as leprosy or elephantiasis, they must constantly bathe in the well for a period of twelve years. Instead of showing us a man who had been cured, they brought a leper who had strongly defined marks of leprosy on his legs. He was trying the efficacy

of the bath, and said he was better than when he had first arrived. The water of the well is reported to be impregnated with sulphur, in which case it would doubtless be very serviceable in some diseases, especially those affecting the skin. In conjunction with washing in this well, it is necessary also to drink of the water of the second well, which, unlike the other, contains sweet water and has a raised parapet round its mouth. Near the wall of the court is a collection of stone deities, all representing the lingam. They are nine in number, of which several are apparently very old. Two stone figures of *suttees* have also been placed here in commemoration of the self-immolation of widows on this spot in former times.

To the right of the court is a small square with a temple in the middle dedicated to Mahadeo. A serpent is entwined about the chief idol, which is called *Náreshwar*, or the serpent-god. The central deity is surrounded by others of smaller stature. Passing beyond this square we come to another, in which two peepul trees and one neem tree are growing. This quadrangle has no temple in it, but is used as a residence for devotees. Close by is another quadrangle, the residence of the deity *Bridhkál*. The shrine within contains two compartments, one of which *Bridhkál* occupies. He sits in a cistern, while over his head hangs a small brass vessel filled with water which drops through a hole upon him without intermission. Though only a plain stone or lingam, he is regarded as a very sacred object. In a niche in the verandah is an antique image of the elephant-headed god *Ganesh*. There is another shrine in the area of this quadrangle, flat-roofed and containing an image of *Hanumán*.

Returning to the court in which the wells are situated, and passing through a corridor to the north, we come to a small enclosure, the walls of which are in a dilapidated condition. Here are two shrines of considerable interest on account of the singular legends associated with them. That on the right is called *Markandeshwar*. *Markande* was a rishi whom Mahadeo, it is said, for his piety endowed with immortality, and who, in acknowledgment of the honour, dedicated this temple to Mahadeo. That on the left is called *Dakhsheshwar*, the legend respecting whom fills several pages of *Káshi Khand*. The tale as revealing some strange events connected with the domestic life of the ruling god of Benares, is worth knowing. *Rajah Dakhsh*, one of the heroes of the story, is still famous in Benares, and was no doubt a real personage.

The wife of Shiva, it seems, although a goddess, dies like common mortals; but unlike them, shortly after her death is

born again into the world, and assuming another name, on arriving at maturity is always married to the same husband, namely Mahadeo or Shiva. On one occasion, the story goes, Mahadeo assembled for some purpose all the gods of heaven and earth. His wife Suttée was also there, and likewise her father, Rajah Dakhsh. It appears that Mahadeo neglected to pay proper respect to his father-in-law in the presence of the deities; and, consequently, on departing, the Rajah relieved his feelings by showering upon him the following abuse:—‘You have neither caste nor habitation, and yet have taken to yourself a wife. You are naked, and wear long hair, and lie down on a tiger’s skin. You never had father or mother. Your body is covered with ashes, and at the end of the world you will destroy everybody. I have committed a great mistake in giving you my daughter to wife.’ After this mental relief the Rajah went home and prepared a great religious festival, to which he invited all the gods and rajahs, with the exception of Mahadeo and his wife. These latter did not know what was occurring, but Nárad Muni came to them and told them all about it. On hearing of the circumstance Suttée requested permission to go to her father’s house and see for herself what was the real state of the case. But Mahadeo urged that she had not been invited to the feast, and therefore declined to permit her to go. At last he yielded to her importunity, and she went. On arriving, only her mother paid her the slightest deference—all the rest of her family treating her with marked indifference. When the feast was served she received her portion, but her husband’s share, which ought in his absence to have been given to her, was withheld. At this neglect Suttée became exceedingly angry, and beat her head upon the ground in passionate frenzy. Moreover, the heavens themselves sent down a shower of blood in token of their sympathy with her. Several of the gods too of the party, disapproving of Rajah Dakhsh’s proceeding, rose and left. On their departure, Suttée becoming still more excited sought out the hole in which the sacrifice was being consumed, and throwing herself into it, was burnt to ashes. When Nárad Muni brought news of this sad catastrophe to Mahadeo, his wrath rose to fierceness, and, creating an army of demons, he placed it under the command of Bîrbhadra, a demon of giant strength, and sent it against the Rajah, with orders to kill him and to vitiate his sacrificial ceremony. On the way Bîrbhadra plucked up forests and mountains and carried them along in his hands. Having reached the Rajah’s palace the demons flew upon the people, slaughtered right and left, and devoured the viands provided for the sacred feast. The

invincible Bīrbhadra sought out the Rajah, and on finding him seized him with his hands, and crying out, 'why did you blaspheme the god Mahadeo?' cut off his head.

This bloody work being finished, Bramhà, the first of the three deities placed at the head of the Hindu pantheon, proceeded in great consternation to Mahadeo, with whom he reasoned and expostulated respecting the awful calamity which had just occurred, and prevailed on him to accompany him to the scene of the recent carnage. On reaching the place Mahadeo's heart was smitten with compassion for the slain; and he gave orders that all the gods, rishis, and rajahs, should be again gathered together, as well the living as the dead. The heads, arms, legs, and other members, which had been lopped off the killed and wounded during the conflict, were also collected, and were severally joined afresh to the bodies to which they belonged. Thus Mahadeo healed all the wounded, and restored to life all the slain. But in the search for the lopped-off members, Rajah Daksh's head could nowhere be found. The god, however, commanded that a goat should be brought to him, the head of which being cut off was stuck upon the trunk of the Rajah's body, which became forthwith reanimated with its former life. After this, the sacrifice which had been so violently interrupted, was completed. Mahadeo then left with all his demons for his residence on the Keilàs mountain. The rest of the deities also left with the exception of Bramhà, who remained behind in order to talk with Rajah Daksh, to whom he represented in its true colours the heinous sin he had committed in blaspheming Mahadeo, and in utterly spoiling the sacred festival, the sacrifice at which could not possibly be performed without the presence of that deity. He concluded by recommending the Rajah to visit Benares, and there to dedicate an idol to Mahadeo, and thus seek for forgiveness from him. In accordance with this advice the Rajah forsook his throne and his dominions, and proceeded to Benares, where he dedicated an idol to Mahadeo, and applied himself to the performance of ascetic and other religious rites. There he remained for many years. In the meantime, Suttè, the wife of Mahadeo, who had perished in the sacrificial fire, was born again among mortals under the name of Pàrbati, her father this time being Rajah Hewanchal Gir; and on arriving at womanhood she was again married to her former husband, Mahadeo. The happy couple travelled to Benares for the purpose of spending their honeymoon, and while there what was their surprise to see old goat-headed Rajah Daksh, who was still absorbed in his religious exercises. He too was doubtless equally astonished to see Mahadeo, whom of

course he recognized, although his mental eyes were closed in regard to Párbati, whom he did not imagine to be his own daughter Sutte. The Rajah pleaded with Mahadeo for the forgiveness of his sin. The god heard his petition, and granted it. And the old man filled with joy dedicated a shrine to Mahadeo called Dakhsheshwar, which is said to be that situated in the interior of the temple of Bridhkál. This tale is as entertaining as many of the legends connected with the Black Forest, the only difference, though an essential one, being, that they are designed for amusement and fun, whereas this, strangely enough, is intended for the promotion of religion.

Leaving this temple and proceeding along the street by its southern wall, we come to a shrine standing at its south-western angle and forming part of the Bridhkál edifice. Its name is Alapmriteshwar, from the god to whom it is dedicated, who, it is reported, is endowed with the miraculous power of prolonging the lives of persons apparently just about to die. The fame of this shrine is considerable; and it is the resort of a large number of worshippers who seek for themselves and their friends an escape from sickness and death. In the streets leading to the Bridhkál temple a *mela* or fair is held every Sunday, and once a year in the month Sáwan one on a large scale is held which lasts for several days. These *melas* are partly of a religious and partly of a secular character, but their primary intention is the worship of some celebrated deity.

In a street leading to Bridhkál a small temple obstructs the thoroughfare, called Rattaneshwar, from 'ratan,' a jewel, and 'Ishwar,' the Divine Being. The shrine is referred to in Hindu writings. A curious circumstance is connected with its modern history. Upwards of thirty years ago, a European magistrate of Benares, while making improvements in the city, determined that this temple should be levelled with the ground. The natives say that one night the god Mahadeo appeared to the sahib in a dream, and, representing to him the great sin he was intending to commit, ordered him to forbear from the execution of such an evil design. On awaking, the sahib in obedience to the divine admonition laid aside his levelling project. It is reported also, and commonly believed, that while digging at the foundations of the temple on this occasion, a jewel was discovered beneath it, but the natives themselves express considerable doubt about its genuineness.

At the distance of a mile from the Fort of Rámnagar, the residence of the Maharajah of Benares, is a handsome temple situated on the eastern side of a capacious tank. Its founda-

tions were laid, and the finest portion of its tower was erected about one hundred years ago by Rajah Cheit Singh, but it was completed by the present Rajah. The temple, including the platform on which it rests, is fully one hundred feet high. Each of its four sides from the base to a height of thirty-five or forty feet is crowded with elaborately carved figures in bas-relief. These are in some places broken, but generally speaking are in a good state of preservation. They are in five rows, six being in a row, so that each side of the tower contains thirty figures, and the four sides one hundred and twenty. As no expense has been spared in the execution of this prodigious work, it may be regarded as fairly representing what Hindu genius in modern times can accomplish in the art of sculpture, and should be visited and studied as such. The lowermost row is filled with elephants, and the next in succession with lions, each of which stands on two small elephants. The lions have very spare bodies, and in this and other respects are grotesquely made, showing that the sculptors had no living model before them, and drew powerfully upon their own imaginations. The three upper rows exhibit diverse figures of deities, incarnations, and other sacred objects. The three goddesses of the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Saraswati, have each a separate niche. Krishna too has his place, but he is not alone, for two of his favourite gopis or milk-maids are close by. Indra, the king of the gods, Bramhá, Vishnu, and Mahadeo or Shiva, the three deities of the Hindu trinity, Kuver, the treasurer of Indra, Bhairó, the divine magistrate of Benares, the god Ram and his wife Sita, Hanuman, the moukey-god, Ganesh, the elephant-headed god, Baldeo, brother of Krishna, the Sawkadik, or four brothers of Brahmá, are each honoured with a statue. Here too is Vayu, or the Wind, Suraj, or the Sun, Agni, or Fire, and Chandarmá, or the Moon, the latter having rays of glory darting from her head and being seated in a carriage drawn by two deer. A number of sacred personages or rishis also are represented, such as Jambur, Nárad, and Gajendra Moksh, and likewise a terrible demon with a thousand hands called Sahasr Báhu, whom Parasráam fought and killed. In the centre of the uppermost row on the south side is a figure of the goddess Durga, wife of Mahadeo; and in a similar position on the east side is a figure of the bloody goddess Mahá-Kálee, who thirsts continually for human victims. In a niche on the north side a strange feat of Krishna is depicted. This humorous deity, it is said, on one occasion, diverted the homage and adoration due to Indra to himself, at which Indra became exceedingly indignant, and determined to punish the worshippers of Krishna who had so

dishonoured him and had defrauded him of his rights. Gathering together the clouds of heaven he commenced pouring down upon the earth a prodigious flood of water, with the object of drowning the people, but Krishna lifting up the mountain Gobardhan held it over the country like an umbrella balanced on his little finger, so that for the space of one hundred and sixty miles no rain fell, and the people were preserved in safety. In the sculpture Krishna is seen standing with his hand held up supporting the mountain on the extremity of his little finger, while cattle are grazing in perfect security below.

On each of the four sides of the tower are two gilded faces surrounded by a halo one above the other, emblematic of the Sun; and on the apex of the tower is a *chatr* or round, flat, gilded object, intended to serve the purpose of a glory to the head of Durga in the shrine below. On the platform facing three of the entrances to the temple are three figures in marble, one of which, namely that opposite to the south door, consists of a Nandi, or bull designed for the service of Mahadeo. A second is opposite the north door, and is a Garur, a being in the form of a man with wings behind the shoulders. The countenance is pleasing, and has been executed with much delicacy of taste. The statue is surrounded by an iron palisade tipped with small brass nobs.

In front of the main entrance is the third figure, which is that of a lion, intended as the Váhan or riding-animal of Durga. Over the entrance itself are peacocks in bas-relief standing with their heads towards each other. The door is not large, but is ribbed and massive, and is covered with brass, so that viewing it from the front it has the appearance of being made entirely of that metal.

The interior of the temple is like most Hindu shrines, confined and gloomy. Directly opposite the door stands the goddess Durga. Her body is of marble covered with gold, and is arrayed in a yellow dress partially concealed by a scarf. The image is in a small shrine, in front of which is a table on which lie various vessels used at the hour of sacrifice. It is over this table and before the face of the idol that the sacred fire is waved. To the left is another table of smaller dimensions, which, when we saw it, was completely covered with white blossoms of flowers; and near by in a niche in the wall are two idols representing Krishna and his wife Rádha. To the right of Durga is her five-headed husband Shiva.

The tank and a garden in the neighbourhood were also the work of Rajah Cheit Singh. The former is surrounded by a spacious ghaut, the stairs of which are built of stone. On occa-

sion of the natives of Benares proceeding on pilgrimage to this spot, they are accustomed to bathe in the tank, and at one and the same time large crowds may be seen assembled on the stairs; but so extensive are the ghauts that hundreds of persons might dress and undress upon them without incommoding one another. The tank is a square, at each corner of which is a temple. The pilgrims who come to bathe, therefore, pass and repass at least one temple.

The object of the pilgrimage to Rámnagar is somewhat amusing. It said that Veda Vyás, the compiler of the Vedas, once paid a visit to Rámnagar, intending to proceed to Benares, but on reaching this place and beholding the city in the distance, his soul was so ravished with delight that he did not desire to enter the city itself. Remaining at Rámnagar he commemorated his visit by the institution of a pilgrimage, which should conduce to the welfare of its inhabitants and of all others placed in their circumstances. The sanctity of Rámnagar, it appears, was never equal to that of Benares, and while all persons who died in the latter place necessarily obtained after death happiness and heaven, all those, on the contrary, who died in former had the misfortune to enter upon another life in the degraded and miserable condition of an ass. It was consequently the custom, report says, in the age of Veda Vyás, and is still, for persons residing on the Rámnagar side of the river, which is called *magah*, when taken seriously ill to repair to the Benares side, in order if death should come to die there, and so escape the asinine existence of the next birth. Veda Vyás, however, taking pity on the *magah* land, established at Rámnagar a *tírath* or pilgrimage to be observed in the month Mágh (January-February,) promising that whoever attended it should be delivered from the danger of becoming an ass after death. Not only do the people of Rámnagar perform this pilgrimage, but great multitudes from Benares likewise resort thither, that they may make their own deliverance from assdom doubly sure. Pilgrims continually arrive during the whole of the month, but Mondays and Fridays are days especially preferred, and on which the assemblages are greatest.

There is a temple dedicated to Veda Vyás in the Rajah's fort at Rámnagar. It is situated above the parapet overlooking the river. The approach to it is by the main stairs or ghaut leading up from the Ganges into the fort. Upon the stairs to the left, in a small shrine, is a richly-dressed figure of Gunga, or the goddess of the Ganges in white marble, seated on a crocodile and having a crown on her head. She has four hands, one of which hangs down, a second is uplifted, a third grasps a lotus,

and a fourth a lota or brass vessel. Proceeding to the top of the stairs and turning to the left you enter a court bounded on one side by the parapet of the fort, and open to the sky. Here are several shrines. In the first Mahadeo resides. Another rests against the trunk of the Asokh Biro tree, and contains various small deities. Near to this shrine is a platform, and upon it a temple bearing the name of Veda Vyás. There is however no image of him inside, and the object of worship is the emblem of Shiva. On the floor of the platform is a carved disk representing the Sun, and a short distance off a figure of Ganesh.

Allusion has been already made to the Panch-kosi road which encompasses Benares. This famous road forms the boundary of the sacred enclosure, on the extreme east of which the city stands. Its length is about fifty miles. Commencing at the river Ganges and quitting the city at its southern extremity, it pursues its sinuous course far into the country, though never at any time being more distant from Benares than *pánch kos*, that is, five cos, or ten miles. It is reputed to be a very ancient road, but that it is so we have grave doubts, the reasons for which we shall presently bring forward. The celebrated lady, Ranee Bhawani, who erected the Durga temple and tank, repaired also the Panch-kosi and restored some of its temples which had been destroyed by the Mahomedans; and since her time the road has been kept in order. There are now hundreds of shrines scattered along the road, so that the pilgrim as he pursues his journey is constantly reminded of his religious duties. The deities inhabiting these shrines are supposed to perform an important part in preserving the stability, the purity, and the peace of Benares and of the entire enclosure. They are in fact watchmen appointed by the ruling monarch Bisheshwar, to keep the boundary of Benares, and to defend it against all spiritual adversaries.

The Panch-kosi is regarded as an exceedingly sacred road. While even a foot or an inch beyond it the ground is devoid of any special virtue, yet every inch of soil within the boundary is in the Hindu's imagination hallowed. It would seem too that every object, animate and inanimate, existing within the enclosed space participates in the general and all-pervading sanctity. The entire area is called Benares, and the religious privileges of the city are extended to every portion of it. Whoever dies in any spot of this enclosure, is, the natives think, sure of happiness after death; and so wide is the application of this privilege, that it embraces, they say, even Europeans and Mahomedans, even Pariahs and other out-castes, even liars, murder-

ers, and thieves. That no soul can perish in Benares, is the optimist creed of the blind, infatuated idolater.

To perform the pilgrimage of the Panch-kosi, is accounted a very meritorious act. It is necessary that every good Hindu residing in the city of Benares, should once a year accomplish this pilgrimage, in order that the impurity which the soul and body have contracted during the year may be obliterated; for it is held to be impossible to reside even in such a holy city as Benares without contracting some defilement. Not only the inhabitants of Benares, but also multitudes of persons from various parts of India, traverse the road, and seek to obtain the blessing which they are told such a pious act ensures. It is customary for a large number of pilgrims to travel together on this journey. Before setting out each morning they must bathe in a tank or stream, and on terminating their march each day must perform the same rite. They do not permit themselves the luxury of shoes, nor do they relieve the fatigue of the journey by the assistance of either horse or ass or camel or elephant, or of any carriage or cart or vehicle whatever. Anxious to secure a full measure of merit, they cannot afford that it should be lessened by the tricks and arts of civilized life. All, therefore, men, women, and children, rich and poor, princes and peasants, travel on foot: and the only exception to this stringent rule is in the case of the sick and infirm, and it is questionable if even they will obtain such a full meed of merit as the rest. On the way the pilgrims must not eat *pawn*, of which all natives are passionately fond, and must take great care that the Benares side of the road is not defiled. They must not quarrel or give one another bad language, must not receive any present, and must not give any food or water or anything else even to a friend, or take any such things from him. This last requirement has been dictated by a spirit of selfishness, for the pilgrim is so intent on the acquisition of merit that he cannot bring himself to share it with any one, no, not even with his dearest friend. He will render no assistance to his neighbour to enter the gates of heaven unless he can do so without loss to himself. While striving to enter within the sacred gates himself, he will suffer his fainting, foot-sore brother to die upon the road. Such is the hard selfishness of Hinduism. Indeed selfishness is the very root of Hinduism, is its sap and life, is its branches, and blossoms, and fruit.

Starting from the Mankarnika Ghaut, the pilgrim keeps along the banks of the Ganges until he arrives at Assi Sangam or Assi Ghaut, where a tiny stream flows into the great river. From his spot he proceeds to a temple of Juggernath close by,

and thence on to the village of Kandhawa, where he stays for the remainder of the day, having performed a journey of six miles. The second day's march is to the village of Dhupchandi, ten miles further on, where he worships the tutelary goddess of this name. On the third day he arrives at Kámeshwar after a long walk of fourteen miles. The fourth day brings him to Shiva-pore, where he visits the famous shrine of the Páñch Pandua, or five brothers who were all married to one woman.

On this day he travels eight miles, and on the fifth day six more, namely to the village of Kapil-dhára, where he worships the god Mahadeo. The sixth and last stage is from Kapil-dhára to Burna Sangam, and thence to Mankarnika Ghaut, from which he first set out, which also six miles in length. He has thus completed in six days a march of nearly fifty miles, upwards of seven of which, namely the space between Burna Sangam and Assi Sangam, the two extremities of Benares, were on the banks of the Ganges. All the way from Kapil-dhára to Mankarnika Ghaut the pilgrim scatters grains of barley on the ground, which he carries in a bag made for the purpose. This curious custom is in honour of Shiva. On reaching the ghaut he bathes in the river, makes his offering of money to the priests in attendance, and then goes to the temple of Sakhi-binaik, or the witness-bearing Ganesh, in order that the fact of his pilgrimage may be duly attested by that deity, and thence to his home. A few grains of barley are reserved for sacrifice to the idol Jau-binaik or barley-Ganesh, who resides immediately above the Mankarnika Ghaut.

With the exception of the temple of Kardameshwar at Kandhawa, which is of considerable antiquity and is the finest specimen of ancient Hindu architecture in this part of India, no temple along the road can, in our opinion, date farther back than two hundred and fifty years. There may be a few of about this age, but we should say that more than five hundred out of the six hundred temples which we have reckoned to be now standing, have been erected since the English came into possession of India. There are various remains of old sculptures to be found upon it and in its vicinity, but they are few in number. It is exceedingly remarkable that the traces of its antiquity, so far as the buildings upon it are concerned, are so slender, especially when we remember that the Hindus believe it to be of high antiquity.

Moreover, the road is for the most part throughout its whole extent ornamented by a double row of trees, one on either side. Many of them have massive trunks and have a noble appearance. Some of the trunks measure from twelve to seventeen feet in

girth. Most of the trees are mango, and many of those of large size are of this kind. Undoubtedly such trees may fairly be regarded as not of recent planting, nevertheless we do not see that they can lay claim to a greater age than that of the earliest built temples found on the road, excepting of course the temple of Kardameshwar, namely two hundred and fifty years. But it is not improbable that many of the trees were planted by the Hindu lady before mentioned, who repaired the Panch-kosi road on the decline of the Mahomedan power.

None of the five tanks and dharmśālas on this road exhibit any signs of antiquity. It is said that a tank at Bhimchandi has somewhere about it an inscription written upwards of 400 years ago, but if this be true, of which we are very sceptical, it would be only good testimony that this individual tank was of that age, but taken simply by itself would afford no proof of the antiquity of the road. On the northern division of the road towards Kapil Dhâra, certain indisputable marks and signs of age are apparent, but these we hold are not connected with the Panch-kosi road, but rather with Sárnâth and other Buddhist sites in this neighbourhood.

Again, roads which have been trodden for many centuries, not to say, for thousands of years, are commonly much worn, and occasionally sink far below the adjacent soil. The limestone soil of Benares and the surrounding country is no exception to this rule. The old Ghazeepore road which crosses the Panch-kosi to the west of Kapil Dhâra, is in one place several feet below the fields on either side, which circumstance is valid proof of its being, to say the last, somewhat ancient. But the Panch-kosi is throughout on a level with the lands through which it winds its way, or nearly so. If the road were only traversed by a few persons yearly, this argument would be not very strong, but seeing that many thousands of pilgrims pass along it in the course of the year, it is, in our opinion, almost physically impossible that it should be of ancient date. Upon the whole, we are inclined to the belief that previous to the repair of the road by Ranee Bhawâni there was a narrow path only, which the Hindus dreading the vengeance of the Mahomedans occasionally traversed in small numbers, but for how long this path had been a pilgrim's walk, it is impossible to conjecture. From the very great scarcity of old remains, however, it is our firm belief that it can lay no claim whatever to antiquity properly so called; and the probability is that it was originated by some zealous devotee, who conceived the novel idea of honouring the sacred city by describing an immense circle round it, which he first of all trod himself, and which,

doubtless to his surprise, was afterwards trodden by other persons, until gradually the custom was established—an idea no more novel and strange than Hindus every day put in practice.

It ought to be remembered with gratitude by the Hindus of Benares and Northern India generally, that the British Government of India instead of pursuing the destructive and prohibitive policy of the Mahomedan rulers, has taken the Panch-kosi road under its own charge, and in a spirit of beneficence deserving the highest praise, defrays the expenses of its annual repairs. It would be a happy circumstance if Benares itself received the same proportion of attention as this road around it. Threaded with narrow streets, above which rise the many-storied palaces for which the city is famous, it is without doubt a problem of considerable difficulty, how to preserve the health of its teeming population. But when we reflect on the foul wells and tanks in some parts of the city, whose water is of deadly influence, and the vapour from which fills the air with fever-breeding and cholera-breeding miasma; when we consider the loathsome and disgusting state of the popular temples owing to the rapid decomposition of the offerings through the intense heat of the sun; when we call to mind the filthy condition of nearly all the bye-streets from stagnant cesspools, and accumulated refuse, and dead bodies of animals; and when in addition we remember how utterly regardless of these matters, and incompetent to correct them, is the police force scattered over the city, we feel overwhelmed at the vastness of the difficulty before us. The importance however of cleansing the city cannot be over-estimated. And it is because it is at once so immensely important as well as difficult, that the undertaking should not be left in the hands of one man, though he should be the cleverest and most energetic in all India. The Magistrate of Benares and his Assistants, have a multitude of duties to perform, besides watching over the interests of the city, and therefore they are totally unable, and we believe must feel themselves so, to originate and carry out all those schemes of utility which are required. What is needed in Benares is, the establishment of a Municipal corporation similar to that which exists in various other cities in India. Such a body would accomplish great results in promoting in various ways the social welfare of the people. We are satisfied that there is no city in the country where such a corporation is more necessary, and where its establishment would be more beneficial. In other respects too besides those mentioned, we regard the present time as peculiarly favourable

for carrying out this project. The *materièl* of the Government authorities in Benares just now is well adapted for aiding in the promotion of the objects of a municipality. Men of industry and enterprise, as some of them are, would find ample scope for their talents. Europeans of ability, unconnected with the Government, and also natives of influence fitted to render useful assistance, might be readily found. With men like the Maharajah of Vizianagram, Rajah Deo Narain Singh, late member of the Legislative Council of India, and other natives of this stamp, united with well-selected Europeans, men of observation, and capable of deviating, if need be, from old stereotyped forms and beaten tracks, and striking out a path for themselves, the institution of wholesome sanitary reforms, the completion of effectual drainage, the opening out and widening of thoroughfares for the free admission of air, and the purification of the religious edifices, should be a labour undertaken heartily and prosecuted with enthusiasm. Under the auspices of a corporation thus constituted, we should soon see a thorough transformation in the city; but at the same time we are perfectly sure that it is only by such a body that the radical changes so imperatively demanded in this region of palaces and filth, in this hot-bed of periodical disease, can be effected. It is our earnest hope that in these days of progress the time-honoured city of which we have been writing will not be left in the rear, as in some respects it now undoubtedly is; but will soon be ranked amongst the foremost cities in the land in regard to all measures tending to advance the prosperity and happiness of the native community.

ART. II.—1. *Copy of Papers received from India relating to the measures adopted for introducing the cultivation of the tea plant within the British possessions in India. Printed by order of the House of Commons, 27th February 1839.*

2. *Annual Report of the Administration of the Bengal Presidency for 1863-64.*

3. *Tea Cultivation, Cotton and other Agricultural Experiments in India. By Capt. W. Nassau Lees.*

4. *The Journal of the Agri-Horticultural Society.*

TO Major R. Bruce and to his brother Mr. C. A. Bruce, still we believe living in the district of Tezpore, Assam, is to be ascribed the honour of having in about the year 1825 discovered tea in India. To the latter, a grant of land was lately presented by the Government in recognition of that discovery, and of his subsequent services in fostering the cultivation of the shrub and manufacture of tea. Dr. Wallich writes to the Agent to the Governor-General, North-East Frontier, under date 15th March 1836:—‘It was Mr. Bruce, and his late brother, Major R. Bruce at Jorehauth, who originally brought the Assam tea into public notice, many years ago when no one had the slightest idea of its existence; a fact to which the late Mr. David Scott has borne ample testimony; and it is to Mr. Bruce’s indefatigable exertions that the Muttock and Gubhroo forests have come to light.’

Mr. C. A. Bruce himself writing to the same official under date 20th December 1836, says:—‘At the breaking out of the Burmah war, I offered my services to Mr. Scott, then Agent to the Governor-General, and was appointed to command gunboats. As my command was at Suddya, I was the first who introduced the tea seeds and plants, and sent them to Mr. Scott and other officers below. My late brother, who was in Assam before the breaking out of the war, had previously informed me of their existence, and it was I who verbally informed you of it, and officially brought the subject to your notice in 1833, giving a description of the method of making the tea by the natives. I was the first European who ever penetrated the forests, and visited the tea tracts in British Suddya, and brought away specimens of earth, fruit, and flowers, and the first who discovered numerous other tracts.’

Other claimants to the discovery have, we believe, come forward, but it is now generally admitted that to the brothers Bruce belongs the honour of having been the first European discoverers of the tea plant in India. In 1826 it was found in Munnipoor by Mr. David Scott. In 1831 and 1834 Lieutenant Charlton found it in various localities in Upper Assam. Not till 1855 was the plant discovered in Cachar by a native, now a blind old man, depending mainly for subsistence on the bounty he receives from the Cachar tea-planters. No practical result of any importance appears to have arisen from this discovery till the 24th January 1834, when Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India, wrote a minute on the advantage India would derive from the cultivation of the tea plant. He proposed as the best immediate means of attaining this end, the appointment of a Committee for the consideration and carrying out of a plan for its proper cultivation. He alluded to a paper on the subject which, two years before this, Dr. N. Wallich, the well known botanist, had forwarded to the President of the Board of Control. The result of Dr. Wallich's enquiries was, that, while the introduction of the plant itself into other countries appeared comparatively easy, failure inevitably attended the manufacture. This proved the case in Penang, Java, Ceylon, and Rio Janeiro. Dr. Wallich was however sanguine that there were various localities in India suitable to tea, instancing Kumaon, Gurwal, and Sirmore as places where the cultivation was then actually carried on, and he was so confident of success that he concludes his paper by declaring his hope 'that under a well directed management the tea plant may 'at no distant period be made an object of extensive cultivation 'in the Honourable East India Company's dominion, and that we 'shall not long continue dependent on the will and caprice of a 'despotic nation for the supply of one of the greatest comforts 'and luxuries of civilized life.'

Lord William Bentinck, mindful of Dr. Wallich's opinion, suggested that the desired object, not only of cultivating the shrub, but of obviating disappointment in the manufacture of the tea, would probably be best and soonest attained by the importation of Chinese cultivators and manufacturers, and proposed the mission of Mr. Gordon to China for that purpose. Lord William appears to have lost no time in carrying his views into practice. His minute, dated 24th January 1834, was followed by the appointment a week after of a Committee for the consideration of the subject. The Committee consisted of the following gentlemen:—
Messrs. James Pattle, J. W. Grant, R. D. Mangles, J. R. Colvin, C. E. Trevelyan, C. K. Robison, R. Wilkinson, R. D. Colqu-

houn, N. Wallich, C. J. Gordon, and Rajah Radakant Deb. This Committee commenced proceedings by addressing a Circular for information as to soil, climate, &c. to various gentlemen supposed likely to possess knowledge on the subject, and, adopting the Governor-General's recommendation, they sent Mr. Gordon at once to China to procure Chinese plants and seeds, and to import skilled labour. Shortly after this, Mr. Gordon was recalled, owing to the opinion of Capt. Jenkins, the Agent to the Governor-General on the North-East Frontier, that Chinese cultivators and tea makers could be procured from the Chinese province of Yunnan, distant about a month's journey from the locality in Upper Assam, where the tea tree was discovered. Mr. Gordon had however already sent round a supply of seed which Dr. Wallich, Secretary to the Tea Committee, proposed should be divided between Kumaon, Sirmore, and Upper Assam. Lord William Bentinck again displayed his anxiety to see the tea plants fairly tried throughout India, by ordering part to be forwarded to Madras, for distribution to the officials in Mysore, the Neilgherry hills, and elsewhere. No time appears to have been lost in following up the discovery of tea in Upper Assam. In February 1835, the necessary funds were sanctioned for the formation and maintenance of nurseries at Suddya and other places, where the shrub was plentiful, and Mr. Bruce was appointed to take charge of them. In September 1835, Mr. Gordon was sent back to China to complete arrangements for the importation of Chinese cultivators and manufacturers. During 1835, Lieutenant Charlton despatched several samples of black tea, which, in spite of being made from the wild tree, of inexperienced manipulation, and of injury by wet in transit, were pronounced to be equal to the ordinary black Congou used by the lower orders at home. Shortly afterwards Government experimental gardens were opened at in the North-Western Provinces, and latterly in the Punjab. To Dr. Jamieson's perseverance and well-directed energy we are mainly indebted for the success which attended the cultivation of tea in the North-West Provinces. He for many years superintended the Government experimental tea gardens and to this day his 'Guide to Tea Planters,' dated the 24th March 1857 is, we believe, the most practical treatise existing on the culture and manufacture of tea in India. At last in 1864, the cultivation and manufacture of tea being no longer a doubtful experiment, the Indian Government is properly withdrawing from the field by the disposal at reasonable rates of all its gardens. To the Government of the East India Company under Lord William Bentinck, then, must be awarded the credit of having first discerned the future value of the Indian

tea trade, and of having encouraged and fostered the cultivation. The first non-official pioneers of tea cultivation on an extensive scale were the Assam Company, who commenced operations in the year 1839 by taking over the Government gardens in that province. It cannot we fear be said that, with Lord William Bentinck's gardens, his mantle fell on the shoulders of the Assam Company. A narrower spirit is supposed to have animated them, and many anecdotes are related of their selfish determination to keep tea cultivation in Assam to themselves, destruction of their seed for instance rather than its sale to brother interlopers, &c. &c. This Company were among the first to take up lands in Cachar, but their disinclination probably to rub shoulders on equal terms with rivals led them to dispose of their Cachar property. After making some of the best gardens in the district, planted with their most valuable variety of seed, the indigenous, they sold them at a handsome profit, and these now form the increasingly valuable property of the Central Cachar Tea Company. After many vicissitudes the Assam is now the largest and most important India Tea Company. Under the management of an energetic Scotchman, the produce of its gardens ranks first in the London market, and its shares command both here and in London a premium of upwards of 150 per cent. In due time other tea estates grew up in Assam. Among them the gardens now composing the Jorehaut, the Upper Assam, and the Golah Ghat Companies, and many others, now take a high rank.

The growth of Indian tea however is not confined to Assam and Cachar. Darjeeling, the Deyra Dhoon, various other localities in the North-West, and the Punjab, on this side of India, all send down both green and black tea of good quality. Comparatively little tea is cultivated in the Neilgherries, but a large cultivation is opening out in Chittagong, where tracts of tea land have been taken up, and are fast coming under cultivation. It is not easy to estimate the amount of capital now invested in tea. A carefully compiled share list issued by Mr. A. G. Roussac gives £3,605,750 as the amount of capital, paid up or pledged, of the various Companies in the Calcutta market, but this does not include private gardens. Regarding the expenditure in Cachar alone, Captain Stewart, the Superintendent of the Province, writing on the 7th May 1864, states 'that up to the end of last year the capital expended on tea cultivation was twenty lacs of rupees, £200,000. 'During the year under review,' (these are probably the official year closing 30th April) '16,89,903 rupees have been drawn from my Treasury for the same purpose, making a total, say of thirty-seven lacs, £370,000, on which a return of upwards of seven and a half lacs (£75,000) have been obtained this year.'

Of the culture of the plant we have of course a great deal to learn. The Reports and Records of the Assam Company for the past twenty-five years must contain a mass of useful information, but that Company is unfortunately chary of giving its dearly bought experience to outsiders. We at all events have been unable to obtain a sight of what we doubt not would have proved to us a mine of wealth. We give with diffidence a few remarks on the culture and manufacture, but have no doubt that the prize essays shortly, we hope, to be published by the Agri-Horticultural Society, will form a useful compendium on the subject. The climate best suited to the growth of the tea plant must be moist and without long periods of drought; the soil a rich strong loam with a good mixture of sand. The following are the constituent parts of soils taken from tea gardens in China some thirty years ago for the information of Lord William Bentinck's Tea Committee:—

Silex.....	67½	71	68	80	88	76
Alumine.....	18	12	20	6	8	14
Oxide of Iron.....	6½	7	5	6	4	4
Carb. Magnes.....	3	1	½	0	0	0
— Lime.....	2	2	½	2	1	2
Muriate of Soda.....	0	1	1	0	0	0
Alkaline Salt	0	0	0	1	1	1
Water of absorption....	2	3	2	5	3	3
Roots and fibres of plants	1	0	0	0	0	0
	100	97	97	100	100	100

The late Mr. Piddington presented to the Agricultural and Horticultural Society some specimens of soil taken from tea gardens in China and Assam, of which the following are analyses. They are it will be seen very similar:—

Tea Soil of Assam.				Tea Soil of China.			
Water	...	...	2.45	...	...	...	3.00
Vegetable matter	...	...	1.00	...	...	...	1.00
Carbonate of Iron	...	...	7.40	...	...	...	9.90
Alumina	...	...	3.50	...	...	...	9.10
Silex	...	...	85.40	...	...	...	76.00
Traces of phosphate and sulphate of lime and loss	...	...	.25	...	...	...	1.00
			100.00				100.00

The soils of the tea districts in Assam, Sylhet, Cachar, Darjeeling, the Kangra valley in the Punjab, &c. are very like those of China, and it appears that the tea tracts of India

are within the same degrees of latitude, the twenty-fifth and thirty-third, as those of China.

The plant is supposed to flourish best at an elevation of from 2 to 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, the produce being as a rule we believe larger at the lower, but the flavour of the tea superior at the higher elevation. The plant delights most in sloping lands, though flat land well drained will give a fine crop. An Eastern aspect is preferable. The seed used in India is of three kinds; the China, the hybrid, and the indigenous. The plant from the China is short, bushy, and hardy, the leaf very dark and comparatively hard. The hybrid is a cross between the China and indigenous, partaking of the qualities of both. The indigenous is the seed found originally in the wilds and forests of Assam, Cachar, and Munnipoor. It is from a forest tree, specimens of which have been seen twenty-five to thirty feet high, with the trunk three feet in circumference. The leaf is longer, of lighter colour, and more tender than that of the China or hybrid varieties. The plant from indigenous seed is more difficult to rear for the first two years, but after that time it is probably as hardy as the other two. The yield of leaf is doubtless larger than that from the China or hybrid, but it bears less seed. The yield of seed is becoming enormous, far greater than will be required for extensions. The surplus will probably ere long be made into oil which may become an important article of export; it has long been used in China for domestic and medicinal purposes.

In laying out a tea factory, as naturally healthy a locality as possible should of course be chosen. It should moreover be about the centre of the lands to be brought under cultivation. The buildings required are a dwelling house, houses for the native servants, coolies' lines, hospital, school house for the children, tea-making house, tea sorting and packing house, store godown, and sheds for workmen; also a bazar or haut for the purchase and sale of the necessaries of life for the servants and coolies. The 'twas,' low swamps between the hills overgrown generally by a long rank reed, should be at once cleared, and the coolies encouraged to sow paddy in them. The successful working of a tea garden depends mainly on the comfort and contentment of the coolies, especially in the district of Cachar, where the greatest difficulty is experienced in procuring labour. The employer is bound alike by humanity and self-interest to exercise an intelligent and kind supervision over his labourers. A most important point then is the erection of the coolie lines, the site of which should be chosen with reference to the generally prevailing wind, the nature of the soil for drainage, and the supply of water. A little care and extra expense in laying out coolie lines is well

repaid by the health and contentment of the people. In building houses, it must be remembered that a double row of dwellings under one roof is injurious, as the dwellers in one would be exposed to the impure air from the other side. Families should if possible have separate houses. Single men may be located in rows. The floor should be well elevated, and the ground round be well drained; the floor might be raised on bamboo *machans* after the manner adopted by the Kookies, leaving a clear space underneath. The most economical and at the same time lasting plan of building a coolie line is probably the erection of three rows of *pucka* pillars, the centre being two feet higher than the outside rows; a tiled roof, and walls made with split bamboo. This description of wall is of course very cheap, the material being at hand, and is also preferable in a sanitary point of view, as it affords ventilation, which should be still further secured by leaving a space of nine inches to a foot between the top of the wall and the roof, the lower part being plastered with mud to a height of about three feet for cold weather. The tiled roof is in the end cheaper than the thatched, and materially decreases risk from fire. If possible coolies' houses should be near a running stream. When this is not possible, it becomes necessary to choose spots suitable for sinking wells, the more insoluble the soil the better. A most important point, on sanitary grounds, is to have proper latrines for the lines. At a convenient distance and not in too low a situation, a trench should be dug; a few inches of earth daily thrown in will act as a disinfectant. An airy, well-drained spot should be chosen for a hospital. The hospital is of course necessary for isolated cases of sickness and for accidents, but should an epidemic break out, the whole colony of coolies should be shifted at once. It is better for them to live for a short time under such cover as a few mats will afford, than to remain where the epidemic broke out. The lines should undergo a thorough purification, the split bamboo walls being entirely removed for a few days, and the *pucka* pillars whitewashed. In case of smallpox or other markedly contagious disease, the walls should be burnt. The bungalow for the superintendent, and the houses for the native servants, should be erected with due consideration for the health of those who are to inhabit them, and for convenience in overlooking the work. The tea and sorting houses should be built on a dry spot, and it is a question whether tiles or galvanized iron sheets make the better roofing;—we would give the preference to the former. The tea house should be sufficiently lofty, to allow of an upper story; when the operations of a tea estate become extensive, it is advisable to have a separate factory for sorting and packing at, or as near as possible to, the place of

embarkation for Calcutta. Regularity, punctuality, and a judicious division of labour are necessary for the economical and satisfactory working of the garden. The work should be arranged over-night, with the head native, and next morning after muster the coolies should be told off to their different duties, the Superintendent taking his turn about an hour later to see that all is going on as ordered. A gong is most useful in a factory to ensure punctuality.

Forest soil is preferable for a tea garden to land once cleared and cultivated, owing to its comparative freedom from weeds. The heavy jungle is removed partly by manual labour, partly by fire. The roar of the flames darting up and claspings round the trees, the crack—crack, as knot after knot of the bamboo explodes, mingled with the voices of the coolies, contrast strangely with the stillness around, which has reigned perhaps for centuries undisturbed except by the tiger and deer who now bound away to seek homes further back in the jungle. The ground cleared and well hoed, the plants should be put in, in lines five to six feet by four. If planted closer their future growth is impeded, and the plucking of the leaf rendered difficult. It is generally allowed that sowing in nurseries and planting out the succeeding rains is a better plan than putting the seed out at once at stake, though the latter method has one great advantage in the present dearth of labour, that the work is performed at a comparatively idle time, whereas the transplanting from the nurseries goes on in the height of the manufacturing season. It has hitherto been the practice in Assam and Cachar to take special care not to injure the tap root of the young plant, when transplanting. We see however by the proceedings of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society held on the 23rd of last November that Mr. MacIvor of Ootacamund, a valuable authority on the subject, considers that for soils not affected by drought it is advantageous to cut off the tap root 'as it encourages the growth of the lateral roots, producing numerous fibres near the surface of the ground; the action of these fibres, or rather the spongelets at the end of them, being rapidly to absorb the nutriment from the point where it is most pure and abundant, and thus, after the fall of rain, by immediately introducing a large quantity of nutriment into the plant, causes it to throw out fresh and successive flushes of leaf.' We see it was suggested at the meeting, it seems to us with some reason, that possibly the removal of the tap root, though it might result in fuller flushes of leaf for the time being, would cause permanent injury to the shrub by shortening its life. Unless the tap root were needful for the plant, we suppose nature would not have

given it; but we commend the matter to the attention of tea planters. The great enemies of the young tea plant are white-ants and crickets. The soils most frequented by these creatures must be avoided, and which these are must be ascertained by observation. It is most advisable, as a preventive, to remove felled timber from the gardens as soon as possible, as the decaying wood is very favourable to the rapid production of the white-ants. Where crickets are numerous, there is nothing for it but to unearth them. The tea garden should be kept continually hoed and free from weeds. It is better to have a small compact area of land carefully tended, manuring after the third or fourth year, should the soil require it, than a large area, with a neglected cultivation. When first clearing, a moderate amount of shade should be left, which may be removed after the second year. In laying out the garden, roads about six feet wide should be carried round or over every teelah (hill). They aid supervision, prevent the encroachment of jungle, and materially assist in the plucking season. In manuring, it must of course be borne in mind, that the object is to supply those constituents of the soil, which the tea plant most largely absorbs. The constituent parts of the manufactured leaf are—

Water	...	...	...	...	5
Gum, Sugar, &c.,	...	...	...	...	21
Gluten	...	...	...	...	25
Theine	...	...	...	...	0½
Fat and Volatile Oil	...	...	...	...	4
Tannic Acid	...	...	...	...	15
Woody Fibre	...	...	...	...	24
Ash...	...	...	...	...	5½

100

When the tea is distilled with water, a small quantity of volatile oil passes over. When the powdered leaf is heated, a white vapour rises, which condenses in the form of minute colourless crystals. This substance is the theine, a most useful constituent of the leaf, and contains a very large percentage of nitrogen, a considerable quantity of which exists likewise in the gluten.* The manure best suited to tea must therefore largely embrace nitrogen and considering the quantity of this gas contained in animal excretions, it is probable that night soil is the very best manure procurable for the tea shrub; an additional reason to the sanitary one elsewhere given for the proper arrangement of latrines. In China this is the principal manure used. It

* Johnson,—Chemistry of Common Life.

must however be borne in mind that while a moderate quantity of manure scientifically applied, is no doubt beneficial, it requires some skill and prudence so to manure, as not to *force* the plant. Abundant flushes of leaf for one or two years, if succeeded by decay would be but a poor reward for attention to this branch of a tea planter's work. The plucking off the blossoms to check the production of seed, and increase that of leaf is another measure, which, to a certain extent no doubt beneficial, would we think if carried to excess be injurious to the health of the plant, because unnatural.

After the third year the plant is fairly productive, and to ensure a generous supply of leaf, it must be judiciously pruned every cold season. Even strong second year seedlings are the better for a light pruning. It is an error to suppose that when the plant attains the age of three years all risk is passed. It is probably subject in its mature age to many misfortunes, of which as yet little or nothing is known except to the Assam Company, and their records, alas! are a sealed book. We know however that blight often attacks the full grown shrubs, seriously injuring their productiveness. Hailstorms likewise which are prevalent in March and April often do irremediable damage. The white-ant is an enemy at all times. No doubt, when once reared to a productive age, tea is subject to fewer risks than many other plants, but it is by no means free from them. The shrub in a healthy, fully productive, well pruned state is about three and a half to four feet high, and should yield from 300 to 400 pounds of manufactured tea per acre; four pounds of fresh leaf yield one of manufactured tea. For how many years the tea plant is fully productive is not certainly known. This to investors in tea property is however a most important subject, and one on which we have unfortunately but little information. The indigenous tea plant in Assam, Cachar, and Munnipoor, it is declared by the natives, lives for 80 to 100 years. We trusted to have obtained some useful data from the statistics of the Assam Tea Company, some of whose gardens are more than twenty-five years old. It was not however judged expedient to give us access to their Reports and Records. It would have been useful to trace the yield of various gardens of this Company at various ages, and some idea might thus have been formed of the strength and productiveness of the tea shrub when undergoing annual plucking. The information we *have* obtained however is most important, as showing how exaggerated have been the ideas entertained, by many, of the produce of old gardens. We understand that in season 1862-63 the two oldest divisions, Rookang and Nazareh of the Assam Company yielded respectively only 266

and 225 pounds of tea per acre! These figures are from statements lately sent down from the gardens and may be relied on. We are told that last year the manager of the gardens ordered 200 acres of old plants to be cut down almost level with the ground, and with the best effect. The old stumps have branched out luxuriantly, and will next year it is expected yield abundantly. We believe that, next to the Assam Company, the oldest gardens of any extent in Assam are those of the Jorehaut Company. From information kindly placed at our disposal, we see that in 1863 920 acres of plant from three to ten years of age yielded 320,000 pounds of tea, showing an average outturn of about 350 pounds per acre; some of the older acreage without doubt giving more than 500 pounds per acre. This would seem to be the most successful Indian Tea Company. In 1863 its total outlay was about £14,000, its yield 4,000 maunds of tea which fetched in London an average price of 2s. 3½d. per lb. and it gave to its shareholders after deducting all expenses a dividend of twenty-four per cent. on its capital.

In Cachar the gardens are not sufficiently old to supply data on which to decide up to what age the tea shrub will yield fully, and after which it should be cut down or removed. The gardens of the Bengal Tea Company, which commenced operations in 1859, have this year turned out 100,000 pounds. The oldest patch of cultivation, about fifty acres, has yielded at the rate of 500 pounds per acre. The ratio of increase of outturn has been as follows, *viz.* 1861, 7,500 lbs. 1862, 17,000; 1863, 50,000; and 1864, 100,000 lbs. The largest outturn we have heard of from Cachar has been from the Serispor garden of the Central Cachar Tea Company. This garden, from 160 acres of five years old, and 230 acres of three years old plant, has this year made 1,100 maunds, or 88,000 lbs. of tea. This shows a yield of say 100 pounds per acre from three years, and 400 from five years plants; the plants of this garden are all from indigenous seed. The oldest garden of this Company having suffered severely from hail at the commencement of the season, on the other hand, has only made 925 maunds, or 74,000 pounds from 170 acres six years, 130 acres five years, and 100 acres four years old plants. Dr. Jamieson considers 300 pounds a fair outturn per acre from a fully bearing garden. In China we believe the tea shrub is expected to yield fully till the tenth or twelfth year when it is we presume changed or cut down. The safest mode is no doubt to have new cultivation continually coming into bearing to take the place of the worn out plants.

The plant in the bearing season delights in alternate heavy showers and sunshine. When the 'flushes' come out the leaves

should be gathered with as little delay as possible. The different qualities of tea are made from the leaves of different age. The small opening bud gives the flowery pekoe; from the leaf just forming is made the pekoe; when a little more developed we get the souchong; and from the leaf in full size the congou. In Chinese, pekoe or poco signifies, *white hair*, the down of tender leaves, souchong, *small plant*, and congou is from a term signifying *labour*, possibly from the greater amount of out-door labour required to gather the larger quantity of the congou leaf. The manufacturing house should be in a central part of the garden, to ensure the arrival of the leaf fresh, and to enable the pluckers to gather the largest possible quantity. In a moderately sized garden bearing well, it may be advisable to have an auxiliary tea house, near one boundary of the garden. The manufacture of tea is simple. The leaf is plucked, the day before it is to be manufactured, and thinly laid on *machans* (bamboo frame work) during the night. Shortly after sun-rise the next morning the leaves are placed in the open air in trays, to be withered sufficiently for manipulation, say for from one to three hours. Indigenous being a softer leaf will take less time than China. The leaves when ready for the process are thrown into a basin-shaped iron pan, about three feet in diameter, and nine inches deep. The pan is fixed in a sloping direction over a furnace, the leaves being kept constantly in motion with the hand. They are then transferred to a table covered with fine matting, and there rolled with the hand. The last process is the firing or drying of the tea, which is done by placing it in shallow baskets over a clear charcoal fire, and this is done more than once. The different qualities are sorted by sifting through sieves of different texture. Care in packing is very necessary. The boxes are lined with lead; and the Chinese cover them with oiled paper, which helps materially to exclude damp; and this plan may wisely be adopted in Indian gardens. During the next few years, there will no doubt be great improvements in the manufacture of tea, the scarcity of labour giving a great impetus to the invention of machinery for the various processes. Large prizes have been offered for mechanical contrivances, especially for rolling and sifting. The tea after a last firing is packed and shipped for Calcutta. The chests should not be opened during the rains, but must be either kept in Calcutta in upper roomed godowns till the cold weather, or at once shipped to England. If opened during the wet season, the tea is apt to become musty or sour and lose flavour, entailing disappointment and loss on the Calcutta purchasers for the home market. Tea, moreover, is the better for being kept some little time. The deleterious property

it possesses when fresh, derived from the volatile oil, thus becomes greatly modified.

We come now to the important subject of outlay on and return from a tea garden. So much depends on individual management that it is difficult to give reliable information on this subject. The following may be a rough approximation for a garden of 300 acres, where assistance from local labour is obtainable:—

Cost of land, 300 acres @ Rs. 5 per acre ...	Rs. 1,500	
Clearing, burning jungle, and first hoeing @ Rs. 12 per acre ...	3,600	
Second hoeing, staking, and transplanting @ Rs. 5 per acre ...	1,500	
Further cultivation during the year @ Rs. 7-8 per acre... ..	2,250	
Seed 1 maund for 5 acres, 60 maunds @ Rs. 100 per maund.	6,000	
European management @ Rs. 300... ..	3,600	
Native Establishment @ Rs. 100	1,200	
Buildings	1,000	
Horse charges	600	
General charges	600	
Implements, &c.	400	
Cost of importing two hundred labourers @ 50 Rs. per man	10,000	
Expenditure 1st year	32,250	
Second year's cultivation	5,000	
Establishment	4,800	
Buildings	1,000	
Horse and General charges, &c.	1,200	12,000
Third year. Rs. 12,000 and charges for manufacturing 18,000 pounds of tea (300 acres @ 60lbs.) say	4,000	16,000
		60,250

To the end of the third year say with interest on outlay, Rs. 70,000, less the proceeds of 18,000 pounds of tea, which at twelve annas per lb will be Rs. 13,500, leaving the block standing at 56,500 rupees. The fourth year the outturn at 150 pounds per acre would be 45,000 pounds at an outlay say of Rs. 12,000, with Rs. 2,000 for additional buildings and other expenses, besides cost of manufacture of tea say Rs. 15,000, making a total outlay of Rs. 19,000. The return at twelve annas per pound would be Rs. 38,750, leaving a profit of Rs. 4,750, or about eight

per cent. on the capital. The fifth year, reckoning outturn at 240 pounds per acre, we should have 72,000 pounds of tea at an expense of about Rs. 35,000, leaving say Rs. 19,000 profit, or about thirty-four per cent. on capital. In the sixth year at 300 pounds, 90,000 pounds for about Rs. 45,000, leaving about forty per cent. on capital. We do not reckon return from seed, which is exceptional and any profit from which should be given rather as a bonus than a dividend. In the above sketch we have supposed a garden of 300 acres to be cleared and planted the first year. It is seldom however that this is done. Whether the undertaking be that of a private individual or of a Joint Stock Company the clearings are gradual. It therefore happens that part of a garden is more or less bearing, while the rest is not yielding any return. It becomes then a question how fairly to apportion the money spent between capital and revenue. Of course till there is some yield, the whole outlay must be borne by capital. The difficulty commences when the garden becomes divided into bearing and non-bearing acreage. This subject is one of the utmost importance to shareholders in Tea Companies. The financial working of a Railway and of a Tea Company are somewhat analogous in this respect. It is said that the system of the Railway King Hudson was to fix the amount of dividend, and to order the accountant to divide the outlay between capital and revenue so as to show the required profit! evidently an unsafe system either for Railway or Tea speculation. This division of outlay has become a momentous question in regard to our Indian Railways; but there is this difference between the Indian Railways and the Tea Companies, that the dividends of the former are guaranteed by the British Government, not so the latter. Until the capital account is closed, that is, until extensions are stopped, and the whole of the acreage is fully bearing, a division of charges must take place. The principle is obviously just, but prudence is necessary in adjusting the two accounts. Mr. Howard H. Ashworth, an accountant of good repute, and who, when in India last year, was professionally connected with some of the leading Tea Companies in Calcutta, has paid some attention to the subject, and reduced his views to writing. He says that 'the money subscribed by shareholders, and called the capital of the Company, is meant to be used in laying out the gardens and keeping them in order until they are five years old, and consequently in full bearing: after which period, the cost of keeping them in order, manufacturing the tea, &c. &c. must be deducted from the proceeds of the sale of the tea, and the balance only of the proceeds, divided among the shareholders as dividend, or interest on the capital subscribed by the shareholders.

' So far appears quite clear, but we know that a certain amount of leaf may be plucked from trees after they have attained an age of three years, and as the amount realized by the sale of this produce when manufactured, is not used on the gardens in improving the cultivation, but is given to the shareholders as revenue, in return for their outlay, it is obvious that the revenue accounts should be charged with a portion of the amount that has been expended on the young gardens, during the one season the leaf to be plucked has been maturing, and the sum so charged against revenue, should bear the same proportion to the total expenditure in attending to the garden, as the proceeds of the young trees bear to the proceeds of those of mature growth.

' If therefore we go by general experience, which shows that a plantation in its third year yields half a maund (40 lbs.) of tea per acre, in its fourth year a maund and a half (120 lbs.) per acre, in its fifth year three maunds (240 lbs.) per acre, and in its sixth and subsequent years five maunds (400 lbs.) per acre, we come to the conclusion :—

' 1st.—That for the third year's expenditure on a plantation, one-tenth part should be charged against revenue, and the remaining nine-tenths against capital.

' 2nd.—That for the fourth year's expenditure on a plantation, three-tenths should be charged against revenue, and seven-tenths against capital.

' 3rd.—That for the fifth year's expenditure on a plantation, three-fifths should be charged against revenue, and the remaining two-fifths against capital.

' 4th.—After the fifth year, the whole charge should be borne by revenue.'

Mr. Ashworth's calculation of the crop at the several ages of the plant up to the fifth year we think somewhat underrated; but that for the sixth, or full bearing year, is we fear, too large. The yield in the fifth year is reckoned at 240 lbs.; that of the sixth at 400 lbs. It will be observed that the whole calculation as to division of outlay, is based on this last return, that of the sixth year, of 400 lbs. per acre.

In the fifth year, following Mr. Ashworth's calculations, a garden will yield 240 lbs. per acre, with a charge against revenue of only three-fifths of the outlay. In the sixth year, should the average outturn be only 300 lbs. (and this would be very good for a large acreage), shareholders will be surprised to find their outturn of tea comparatively little in excess of that of the previous season, but burdened with the whole outlay; the pocket result being a very much smaller instead of larger dividend than that of the

previous year. Either 400lbs. is an excessive average for the sixth year; or the probable yields of the third and fourth years are under-estimated. We think both to be the case. Four hundred pounds may be, and no doubt is, the full yield per acre under *favourable circumstances*; but allowance must be made for blight, hail, white-ants, want of labour, drought, *et multa alia*. We would somewhat raise the rate, say to 60 and 150 for the third and fourth years, and reduce it to say 300 for the sixth. The charge of revenue for the third year would then be as 60 is to 300 instead of as 40 to 400; for the fourth year, as 150 to 300 instead of 120 to 400; and for the fifth year as 240 to 300 instead of 240 to 400.

In thus criticising Mr. Ashworth's calculations, we do not cast any blame on him. He was not a practical tea planter, and no doubt was guided by the information he derived from others. The subject, however, is one of considerable importance, and one to which it may be well to draw the attention of those interested, as the stability of their property depends much on the basis on which the Capital and Revenue Accounts are adjusted.

Though the trade is in its infancy it is satisfactory to know that the India tea already takes precedence, in the London market, of that from China, its price averaging 3*d.* to 4*d.* a pound above the latter. The consumption of tea is rapidly increasing in India itself, and whatever is made in the North-West and in the Punjab, will doubtless find a ready sale on the spot. This refreshing beverage is yearly becoming more popular on the Continent; in France and Germany its consumption was, till lately, very small. In 1851 with populations respectively of thirty-six and thirty-two millions, these countries used only half and one and a half millions of pounds, while Great Britain consumed nearly fifty-five millions. Coffee was and is still the popular beverage on the continent. The annual exports of tea from China from 1772 to 1780 averaged 18,838,000 pounds. It now exports upwards of lbs. 150,000,000. By the reduction of the duties existing prior to 1784 the consumption of tea in Great Britain was trebled in two years; in 1783 the quantity sold at the East India Company's sales having been 5,157,000 lbs. and in 1785, 16,307,433 lbs. In 1853 Great Britain consumed 31,803,000 lbs.; in 1835 about 36,000,000 lbs.; in 1852 about 55,000,000 lbs.; in 1853 about 58,000,000 lbs.; within the last twenty-three years the consumption has much more than doubled, and now that the duty has been and will probably be still further reduced, the rate of increase will no doubt be much larger, tea being one of those articles of food, which though not really a necessary of life, becomes

so by habit. It has indeed a greater nutritious property than is generally supposed, containing, as it does, so large a proportion of gluten. By the usual method of infusion, very little of this property is obtained, but were a pinch of soda put into the water, more of the gluten would be dissolved, and the tea be rendered more nutritious. In 1841 the consumption was 31,788,322 pounds, producing a revenue of £3,439,108. In 1863 it was 73,785,942 pounds, producing a revenue of £4,031,416; this shows in 1841, a consumption per head of 1.71 pounds, and revenue of 3s. 8½d.; and in 1863, a consumption per head of 3.12 pounds, and revenue 3s. 5d. The reduction per head of revenue is accounted for by Mr. Gladstone's reduction of the duty by one-third. There is however a gross increase of revenue of about £600,000, showing the wisdom of the measure. The comparatively high price of Indian tea is to be attributed to its strength making it useful for mixing with the weaker China teas, and this is due to its being carefully and honestly manufactured, altogether under European superintendence, whereas in many districts of China, tea has been very much what cotton has been in India, a refuse crop, and the manufacture conducted entirely by Asiatics. The exports of tea from Calcutta since January 1862 have been as under :—

1862	19,56,765	Pounds.
1863	80,58,298	do.
1864 } Nov. }	28,01,389	do.

The following statements will show the position of tea cultivation in Bengal taken from the latest available official statistics :—

Statement showing the result of Tea Cultivation in Assam in 1863.

Names of Districts.	Number of factories in 1862.		Number of factories in 1863.		Increase.		Extent of land under tea cultivation in 1862.		Extent of land under tea cultivation in 1863.		Increase.		Outturn of 1862 in lbs.		Outturn of 1863 in lbs.		Increase.		Estimated outturn for 1864.	
							Acres.		Acres.											
Luckimpoor	...	51	56	5	5	4,974	7,874	2,930	468,911	515,420	46,509	608,438								
Seebsaugor	...	138	143	5	5	10,406½	12,370	1,963½	1,388,265	1,608,377	225,112	1,933,489								
Nowgong	...	16	36	20	20	2,462	4,023	1,561	152,525	192,402	39,877	272,156								
Durrung	...	15	25	10	10	1,369	1,722	353	100,000	111,110	11,110	133,330								
Kamroop	...	30	46	16	16	1,027	1,553	526	40,794	42,075	1,281	46,637								
Gowalparah	...	1	14	13	13	97½	148	50½	..	582	582	1,164								
Total	...	251	320	69	69	20,336	27,690	7,334	2,145,495	2,469,966	324,471	2,895,214								

Cultivation in Cachar.

Area of grants ...	253,372	acres.
Extent of cultivation up to May 1863	15,530½	,,
Ditto ... 1864	28,276	,,
Tea produced in 1863 ...	590,064	lbs.
Estimated crop in 1864 ...	1,197,540	,,
Tea seed produced in 1863 ...	1,631	maunds.
Estimated quantity in 1864 ...	3,843	,,

Number of labourers employed.

Local ...	4,418
Imported ...	14,435
	<hr/>
	18,853

Cultivation in Sylhet.

Extent of cultivation in 1862 ...	1,370	acres.
Ditto in 1863 ...	2,321	,,
Outturn of tea in 1862 ...	22,026	lbs.
Ditto in 1863 ...	31,168	,,
Estimated outturn in 1864 ...	81,200	,,
Tea seed produced in 1862 ...	371	maunds
Ditto in 1863 ...	526	,,
Estimated yield of tea seed in 1864...	1,226	,,

Number of labourers employed in 1863.

Local ...	1,053
Imported ...	467

 1,520

distinctions of castes are inadmissible according to them. Men of all castes were admitted in his ranks. Men of all castes.

Cultivation in Darjeeling.

Amount of land cleared ...	10,963	acres.
Amount of land planted ...	9,034	,,
Amount of land cleared and planted in 1863	3,310	,,
Yield of tea in 1862 ... (Tea leaf?)	83459	lbs.
Manufactured tea ...	21519	,,
Yield of tea in 1863 ...	126,439	,,
Manufactured tea ...	36,808	,,
Anticipated amount of cleared and planted land in 1864 ...	4,337	acres.
Probable yield of tea in 1864 ...	169,740	lbs.
Ditto tea seed ...	71,914	,,
Number of coolies employed ...	6,098	,,

The present position of the district of Cachar compared to what it was ten years ago is perhaps the most striking illustra-

tion of commercial enterprise that British India can show. Not ten years since, the European inhabitants were the Superintendent, his Assistant, and the Doctor. The district excepting villages near the station, in the Hylalandy valley, and one or two other favoured localities and on the banks of the Barak river, was a dense jungle inhabited only by elephants, tigers, deer, and other wild animals. It now contains upwards of 300 tea planters, 253,372 acres of waste land have been disposed of, of which 28,276 acres are under tea. The quantity of tea made in season 1863 was 590,064 pounds, the quantity expected in 1864 is 1,197,540, showing an increase of more than double over last year; 3,843 maunds of tea seed are expected this year against 1,631 maunds in 1863. 18,853 labourers are at present employed in the gardens, 14,435 being imported, and 4,418 local. If Cachar continues to progress at this rate, it will soon throw all other districts into the shade.

We come now to what is practically at the present moment the most important subject connected with the Indian tea trade, the supply of labour and its retention when obtained. India, as is well known, contains large tracts of cultivable waste land either altogether uninhabited or with a very scanty population. Such are the provinces of Assam and Cachar. Other parts of the empire, again, are more densely populated. We have shown at the commencement of this article how deeply Lord William Bentinck was interested in the discovery of tea in India, and how the Indian Government has subsequently encouraged the cultivation, by itself establishing experimental tea gardens. The requirements of the cultivation have been therefore all along well known to Government, and when it invited the investment of British capital in the wilds of the tea districts, it was taken for granted that facilities would be given for the introduction of the necessary labour. After extensive grants of land had been taken up for the cultivation of tea, the assistance of Government to this end was consequently sought. In connection with this subject Sir John Peter Grant, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, wrote on the 20th January 1860:—‘It is manifest that the great want is a sufficiency of labour for the proper cultivation of land already obtained for and in part planted with tea, and for the proper gathering and manufacture of the leaves. This is work in which the men, women, and grown children of a whole family can be employed: and it is therefore most favourable for the importation of labour at a moderate charge, and the fixing of a new labouring population in the neighbourhood of the tea plantations.’ This admission which implies something more than the introduction of a population by the

planters who would fix them *on*, and not *in the neighbourhood* of the plantations, was to be expected from the head of a Government that had all the experience to be derived from the working of the Government tea gardens. He proceeds to say that 'the generally scanty population of Assam, its remote position, and its difficulty of access for poor people from the populous parts of India, indicate the expediency of having resort to a systematic course of proceeding in the importation of labour from other parts of India.' A clear recognition, it would appear, of the duty of Government to assist in the work, but unfortunately he goes on, 'but it is not for Government, but for those immediately interested in the tea plantations of Assam to apply themselves to this as to other requirements of their position.' How such a conclusion was arrived at, it is difficult to understand. The duties of Governments in this matter vary of course according to the circumstances of the countries they govern. The obligation of a European Government to assist emigration to underpeopled colonies is universally recognised. In Europe the surplus population of one district may readily find its way to less fortunate localities. Facilities of locomotion and of organization exist, which make it, unless under exceptional circumstances, unnecessary for the Government to interfere. In India it is very different. Unaided private enterprise is powerless to transfer the surplus population from one province to another. There are various difficulties that make it impossible for large bodies of people to be shifted from one part of the country to another by private agency alone, without serious loss and discomfort to the emigrants. The general principle that it is to the interest of the Government of a country that its waste tracts should be peopled, will however not be disputed. The *when* and the *how* are no doubt to be considered. Where, as in this case, capital and skilled agency to work that capital are forthcoming, it would appear that the *when* had arrived: a paternal despotism need not be at loss for the *how*. We complain however not only that facilities are not granted for the importation of labour into the tea districts, but that labour is actually sent out of the country. It will surely be allowed that surplus labour should not be exported beyond sea, when it is required in the country itself. But in India the anomaly exists of a most valuable trade, that in the course of a few years would yield upwards of a million sterling of revenue to the British Government, languishing for labour, while the Government not only repudiates the duty of directly importing it, but permits its export to foreign dependencies. So suicidal a course of action may well appear incredible, and it is only we presume to be explained on the

supposition that foreign emigration was permitted before the want of labour in India itself was so patent.

During the past six years, as will be seen by the annexed table taken from the Annual Report of the Administration of the Bengal Presidency for 1863-64, 1,01,131 labourers were exported beyond sea, of whom only 16,700 have returned. We will not say that this fact is 'appalling,' but if it is true that the climate of the islands to which these people go, does not suit Asiatics, and that the mortality among them is very great, it might be worth while to obtain statistical information as to the position of our Indian subjects in these colonies.

	Departure.	Return.
1858-59	26,672	5,626
1859-60	23,312	3,226
1860-61	14,533	1,778
1861-62	22,600	1,710
1862-63	7,825	2,212
1863-64	6,189	2,148
1858-59 to 1863-64	1,01,131	16,700

'It is not for Government, but for those immediately interested in the tea plantations of Assam, to apply themselves to this, (the importation of labour), as to other requirements of their position.' We contend that it is both the interest and the duty of the Government directly to assist in the importation of labour, where it has successfully invited the investment of capital, and especially where that capital is importing skilled and intelligent agency to direct labour. We say moreover that it is more to the interest of the Government than of the individual tea planter that this should be done. The proprietor of a tea garden looks to his immediate profit; the Government to the prospective wealth and happiness of the community. We do not say that the capitalist should buy lands and then fold his hands till the Government brings labour to his door to cultivate them: but on the other hand the Government should not sit idle and see the capitalist vainly striving to do alone what cannot be done without its help. We say advisedly that it *cannot* be done. It will not do for the Government to say, 'the profit of tea cultivation is such as richly to repay an adequate expenditure in in-

'creasing it.' It is possible that the profit might be so large as to repay the cost of transporting labour, only twenty-five per cent. of which might arrive to work, the remainder having succumbed, died from disease and starvation incurred in transit, because capital in a country like India cannot command that organization which is absolutely necessary safely to transport a population from one province to another.

When the waste tracts of Assam and Cachar were extensively taken up, and Europeans entered heartily into the cultivation of tea, it was plain that by some means or other labour must be obtained. Coolie contractors sprung up; and surplus labour from the Sonthal Pergunnahs, Rajmahal Hills, Central Provinces, and elsewhere was rapidly collected and brought down to Calcutta, for exportation to Assam and Cachar. It soon became evident that abuses were likely to spring up in the collection of these coolies. Imperfect arrangements for their transmission to Calcutta would entail distress; and their dispatch, in large bodies, to the gardens without due sanitary arrangements and precautions, might be attended with great discomfort, and even loss of life. The large bounty offered might tempt unprincipled recruiters to kidnap coolies; and, too often, to induce them, under false pretences of high pay and wonderful advantages to leave their homes. In fact, all the difficulties incidental to imperfect organization presented themselves. The business of recruiting coolies fell into the hands of men who were interested solely in the profit to be made out of the capitalists' urgent need of labour, and both labourers and employers were at the mercy of contractors. How such agency worked, is ably portrayed by Captain Lees in the useful work which we have placed at the head of this article. At page 337 he says, 'coolies were contracted for, by private parties, as so many sheep or bullocks, the contractors receiving a certain sum for those who arrived in the district and for those who died *en route*, but none for deserters. To those who have been in India, and know what an Indian contractor is, an explanation of his *modus operandi* is unnecessary. They know that as a rule, he is unscrupulous, and that as long as he puts money in his purse, whether it be human beings or beasts of the field he has to deal with, the amount of dishonesty or cruelty he perpetrates, will not sit heavy on his conscience. Nor was it otherwise in this instance. False representation, corruption, oppression of every and the worst description, were used to swell the number of the contractor's recruits. The old and decrepid, the young and tender, the halt, the maimed, and the blind—nay

'even the infected, the diseased, and the dying, were pressed into the service of these most degraded of crimps.'

It was high time for the Government to bestir itself. According to our view it had already incurred responsibility in not at first coming forward to assist the capitalist in the transport of labour, and in allowing matters to drift into such a sad state; especially when the necessity was so clearly seen of 'a systematic course of proceeding in the importation of labour from other parts of India; and the fixing of a new labouring population in the neighbourhood of the Tea Plantations.'* Mr. Beadon at this time succeeded to the Government of Bengal. He determined that a better system should be introduced and a Bill, Act III. of 1863, was passed through the Bengal Council to regulate Inland Emigration.

It received the assent of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on the 10th March 1863, and of the Governor-General on the 28th of the same month. This Act provides that labourers, to be despatched to Assam, Cachar, or Sylhet, shall be collected only by contractors or recruiters, duly licensed by a Superintendent of Labour Transport; that such contractors shall establish depôts to receive the labourers before their despatch to their final destination; that the labourers shall be registered by the Magistrate of the district where they are recruited, who shall satisfy himself that they understand the nature of their agreements; that proper arrangements for food and lodging shall be made by the contractor; and that on arrival at the depôt, the coolies shall be examined by a Medical Inspector having the power to send back to his home, at the expense of the contractor, any coolie who may from bad health be unable to proceed to his destination. It is provided that the coolies enter into contracts to serve the party engaging them for a term not to exceed five years. This contract is executed in duplicate, a copy being forwarded to the Magistrate of the district, where the service is to be performed. Steamers or boats conveying coolies must be duly licensed to carry a limited number. On arrival at their destination, coolies are to be landed under the supervision of the Magistrate, who has power to arrange for their comfort while remaining in the place of disembarkation, at the expense of the employer. The Act provides for proper feeding and

* The then head of the Government of Bengal, is now a Director of the Land Mortgage Bank of India, which we understand has advanced considerable sums on the security of tea estates in the North-Eastern districts. The correct theoretical knowledge of the subject possessed by Sir J. P. Grant, may now be usefully applied.

medical care of coolies during the passage; and declares that, at least twenty-five per cent. of the number despatched shall be females. These various provisions in the interest of the coolies are, it must be admitted, just and proper. A consequence of the law, however, has been a very great increase in the cost of landing a coolie in Assam or Cachar. What two years ago cost twenty-five to thirty, now costs sixty to eighty rupees. The only clause apparently in the interest of the employer, is that which provides for a contract for a term not to exceed five years. This however is as much in favour of the coolie as it is in favour of the employer, for it would be hard indeed were the former, transported a month's journey from his home, liable to dismissal on arrival at his destination. For many months, in fact since the passing of the Act, the newspapers have teemed with complaints of the unsatisfactory nature of the relations between the tea planter and his imported labourer. The law perhaps has come in for more than its fair share of opprobrium. It is certain however that since it was passed, the cost of labour has enormously increased, and the worth of the article correspondingly decreased. We are sure that not a single employer would have objected to the most stringent provisions to ensure the comfort and proper treatment of the coolies; but the tea interest naturally complains, when it sees that the practical result of the Legislation so far as it is concerned has been an enormous increase in outlay; has led in fact to prohibitory rates for labour, with no corresponding advantage; while at the same time it is very doubtful whether the praiseworthy object of securing the comfort of the coolie has been attained. To support this view it is only necessary to allude to the trip of the *Agra* steamer and flat *Hoonhly* to Assam at the end of 1863, nine months after the passing of the Act.* In the interest of the coolies we would remark that the time between the despatch from Calcutta to the arrival in

* A Committee was appointed by the Government of Bengal to enquire into the cause of this mortality. In instructions to the Superintendent of Labour Transport, issued after receipt of the Committee's report, it is laid down that Government has no concern with the selection of robust labourers. This is surely a mistake. The establishment of a Government Agency for procuring coolies is deprecated. This is not exactly what is required. It is rather such Government countenance as will make a proper organization possible. The congregation of a large number of coolies is disapproved of, and justly so, but in the very next paragraph, the various depôts are ordered to be concentrated in a convenient situation which in or near Calcutta is, we fear impossible without incurring the very evil which is most to be avoided. The congregation of coolies in large numbers at all in Calcutta is most injurious. As to the additional rules regarding the coolies,

Assam or Cachar is that which seems most to deserve attention. The journey from their homes to Calcutta is mainly made by rail. The coolies all embark either in the steamers or boats at Kooshtea, which they reach by rail from Calcutta in five or seven hours, though they are frequently detained there a day or two or more. Attention to their proper housing and feeding at Kooshtea then is necessary, the more especially since it is during the steamer or boat trip from thence that the greatest sanitary precautions are needed.

The tea planter is as anxious as the Government can be that the imported labourer be properly cared for from the time he is engaged till his arrival at the gardens. Any legal enactment which will ensure the landing of robust, healthy men and women will be welcomed by the tea interest; and it justly complains that Legislation as yet has not secured this object. The question is, what can be done to remedy this state of things. Every reasonable precaution appears to be taken in Calcutta. A more efficient Superintendent of Labour Transport could not probably be obtained. The Medical Inspector is most skilful and able. But after all their precautions, a batch of coolies may arrive at Kooshtea, and be unavoidably delayed for a few days. If these men are insufficiently housed and fed, these few days, at any season of the year, may convert what was a healthy into a sickly body of men; predisposed to disease when confined on board a steamer or boat. It may be said that these people were not accustomed at their own homes to all the attention we demand for them. However this may have been, the fact of their having lived separately at their various homes, and now being massed together, makes all the difference. It is absolutely necessary also that the Medical Inspector at Kooshtea should be empowered to examine the steamers or boats, and to see that proper sanitary precautions be taken. This is more necessary for the steamer flats than for country boats, as the men in the former are generally confined from the moment of embarkation till arrival at their destination.

We believe that difficulty is experienced in procuring suitable

too much attention cannot be paid to their comfort, but it should be done without sacrificing the capitalist. It is ordered among the sanitary rules for treatment of coolies on board the steamers that the decks be washed daily. We feel sure that this is injudicious. The decks are always damp, if daily washed, and invite diarrhoea, dysentery, and in fact all diseases to which men in large bodies are particularly subject. The decks should be dry scrubbed. Daily bathing is ordered, but it is not easy to carry out such an order. A bathing arrangement might perhaps be erected; a long wooden trough for instance, with a perforated metal bottom, with a pump at one end communicating with the river.

medical officers to take charge of coolies on the passage. The conveyance of labourers to the tea districts is one of the most lucrative sources of profit to the steamers, and it might be ordered that every Company seeking such freight should be bound permanently to employ European medical officers to take charge of emigrants. Such officers should be well paid; partly by a fixed salary from the Steam Company, and partly by a fee for every coolie landed in good health. An intelligent medical man having this special duty would soon find out what regulations and sanitary arrangements were most conducive to the health and comfort of the coolies on board. It should be the duty of the Medical Inspector at Kooshtea to reject men and women unfit for labour. Even were this duty performed in Calcutta it would not be sufficient, it being quite possible for sickly or diseased coolies to be substituted for healthy ones after the Medical Inspector has passed them. At present we believe the medical officer of Kooshtea does duty as Medical Inspector of Coolies on a salary which implies that his duties are supposed to be nominal. About 1,200 coolies pass through Kooshtea every month, and their number is steadily increasing. The Medical Inspector's work should therefore be clearly defined, and fairly remunerated.

The present system it is plain does not work well. It costs sixty rupees to land a Dhangur coolie in Cachar, and eighty in Assam. Who gets this money? How is the sum of sixty rupees made up? After liberal allowance for Railway and Steamer fares, depôt-charges, food and lodging in transit, blankets, &c. a very large surplus remains. None of this goes to the coolie; the profit is the recruiter's and contractor's. Moreover, from the complaints made of the arrival in large numbers of coolies physically unfit for work, it would almost appear that the profit is so large that it is worth the while of the contractors to recruit incapable men; running the risk of their not being passed, or of death in transit. The cruelty of such an abuse is extreme, and the additional expense to the employer is great. There may be ample organization at Calcutta; but neglect at the source of supply entails extra work there, and want of proper regulations at the final place of embarkation goes far to neutralize what may have been effected at the centre. The present system leaves to the tea planter an apparent freedom of action in the engagement of labourers, neutralized however by rules and penalties which have proved more or less useless for the purpose intended, adding only to the cost of labour. To judge by the continual complaints made by the planters, a bad class of men are imported, who refuse to fulfil their

contracts, and who seem to be at liberty so to refuse with impunity. At present the precautions ordered to be taken at the source of supply are nullified by the want of agency to work them. To suppose that the Magistrate of any district can efficiently perform the duties laid upon him by the Act is absurd. That the interests both of employers and labourers are insufficiently protected in transit will be admitted, that both have good cause to complain at the place of destination will be equally allowed. The Government Superintendent of Cachar at least declares that the coolies imported into his district are not contented: and the planters complain that after incurring the expense of importing them, find them unwilling to work. What is required appears to us to be security that suitable labourers will be recruited; that the nature of the engagement shall be properly explained to them: that they should not be massed in large numbers anywhere in transit to the final place of embarkation for their destination: that great care be exercised in conveying them safely to the tea districts from that place: and finally, that measures should be adopted to ensure their contentment and comfort on arrival at the gardens, and the honest fulfilment of their contracts.

Whatever system is adopted, the principle that it is the interest and the duty of the Government to assist in introducing an agricultural population into the tea districts, should be recognised. Part of the cost of the importation should fairly be borne by the Government to be defrayed from the money received by the sale of waste lands. Once more we must say, it is not enough for the Government to sell lands. Having realized funds by such sale, it is bound to assist in finding labour to cultivate them and to apply part at least of those funds to that purpose, and this, not to take higher ground, in the interest of its own revenue. Mr. Wakelield says, 'If the object were the utmost possible increase of the population, wealth, and greatness of our empire, then I can have no doubt that the revenue accruing from the sale of waste land would be called an emigration fund, and be expended in conveying poor people of the labouring class from the mother country to the colonies.' The principle is equally applicable to the transfer of population from one part of our Indian empire to another.

Six years hence, Assam, Cachar, and Sylhet, should, under favourable circumstances, produce upwards of twenty millions of pounds of tea. The duty alone on this, at one shilling a pound, would be a million sterling. The revenue from other sources would be large, and it would take more time and space than we can afford, to show how shipping and other interests would

benefit by the trade. The duty of a Government to assist in colonization is thus laid down by John Stuart Mill. 'The question of Government intervention in the work of colonization, involves the future and permanent interests of civilization itself, and far outstretches the comparatively narrow limits of purely economical considerations. But even with a view to these considerations alone, the removal of population from the overcrowded to the unoccupied parts of the earth's surface, is one of those works of eminent social usefulness, which must require, and at the same time best repay, the intervention of Government.'

Again, 'It is equally obvious however, that colonization on a great scale can be undertaken, as an affair of business, only by the Government, or by some combination of individuals in complete understanding with the Government.' Again, 'any considerable emigration of labour is only practicable, when its cost is defrayed, or at least advanced, by others than the labourers themselves. Who then is to advance it? Naturally, it may be said, the capitalists of the colony, who require the labour, and who intend to employ it. But to this there is the obstacle, that a capitalist, after going to the expense of carrying out labourers, has no security that he shall be the person to derive any benefit from them. If all the capitalists of the colony were to combine, and bear the expense by subscription, they would still have no security that the labourers, when there, would continue to work for them.' Regarding the expenditure necessary, he says 'of the modes in which a fund for the support of colonization can be raised in the colony, none is comparable in advantage to that which was first suggested, and has since been so ably and perseveringly advocated, by Mr. Wakefield: the plan of putting a price upon all unoccupied land, and devoting the proceeds to emigration.' In connection with the capital required to support the imported labour he says:—'It would be necessary, in order not to overstock the labour market, to act in concert with the persons disposed to remove their own capital to the colony. The knowledge that a large amount of hired labour would be available, in so productive a field of employment, would ensure a large emigration of capital from a country, like England, of low profits and rapid accumulation; and it would only be necessary not to send out a greater number of labourers at one time, than this capital could absorb and employ at high wages.' Now, what are the conditions under which Government is asked to assist emigration to the Tea Districts? Capital has actually been invested in the purchase of waste lands in Assam, Cachar, &c., and a large extent of land has been disposed of, and a fund

thus exists, which, on the Wakefield system, should be applied to defray the expense of emigration. Some may say that legislation on the subject of importation of labour into the tea districts is altogether hurtful. We are not of this opinion, but it is useless to discuss it. Government will assert its right to watch the interests of the class who emigrate, both in transit and after arrival. We believe that the radical evil of the present legislation is the entire negation of direct Government interest in the matter. Every one who has been any time in India, knows the unreasoning manner in which the lower classes of Bengal at least will chime in with what they suppose to be the wish of the 'Sircar.' It is, we fear, generally felt that the emigration to the tea districts, not only is not a Government measure, but that it is sometimes discountenanced by the local authorities. Time contracts are necessary at first, but the object of all concerned should be to get a permanent population, and whatever tends to fix the impression in the mind of the emigrant of a merely temporary sojourn *away from home* should be discouraged. Government should do all in its power to induce 'time-expired' men to remain in the district. This might be done by a bonus from the public purse, to be supplemented by one of equal amount from the planter on whose estate the labourer finally settles.

We would recommend some such system as the following. That an inland Emigration Agency should be established in Calcutta: supported in the first instance by subscriptions from public Companies, and private owners of tea estates: managed by a Board, chosen partly by subscribers, and partly by Government: the agent appointed by the Board. The Office of this Agency should be near the Sealdah Terminus of the Eastern Bengal Railway. A central, convenient spot in every district known to contain surplus labour should be chosen as the Station for a Recruiting Depôt. The officers in charge of these depôts should be chosen by the Calcutta Board; the Magistrate of the district having a power of supervision. In connection with each depôt should be an establishment of paid recruiters, to collect the coolies, who would be registered by the Superintendent; precautions being taken in their interest similar to those now ordered to be taken by the overworked Magistrate of the District. If the rules framed for the protection of the coolie under Act III. of 1863 are carried out at the source of supply, why should employers at the other end be defrauded of their rights by the labourers, for whose services they have paid so highly? A bonus, say of two rupees should be promised to every coolie on arriving at his destination. This, to some extent at least, would check desertion. The Depôt Superintendents

moreover would see that a proper class of men were recruited, *bona fide* labourers and not Brahmin boys, table servants in search of their wives, decrepit and diseased men, &c. To conduct properly the duties of a Recruiting Dépôt in a district containing much surplus labour would take the undivided attention of an intelligent officer. These duties now devolve on the Magistrate, and it is simply impossible that he can perform them.

The coolies should be despatched as they come in, in small numbers, say of fifteen or twenty, in charge of a peon on the recruiting establishment to the nearest Railway station. On no account should they be allowed to be massed in large numbers at the dépôt. They should be received at one or more dépôts near the Sealdah Terminus of the Eastern Bengal Railway. Here again, massing the people should be avoided. The Calcutta dépôt should as a rule never contain more than 200 to 300 coolies at the outside. The Medical Inspector would carefully examine the labourers here, and see that they were supplied with the clothing, &c. now ordered in Act III. of 1863. They should be forwarded to Kooshtea as soon as possible, any unavoidable delay being rather incurred at that place, which is open and airy and infinitely superior to any spot that could be available in or about Calcutta. Various sanitary measures, especially latrines, would be introduced at Kooshtea, and thus the coolies would be prepared for their adoption at the gardens. The dépôts at Kooshtea should be large and well constructed under the charge of a well-paid Medical Inspector; whose responsibility would cease, and that of the Medical Officer on board would commence, on the embarkation of the coolies; the Medical Inspector at Kooshtea however being empowered to examine the steamers or boats and to see that proper sanitary precautions were taken. Arrangements for medical care on board the steamers and flats could we think be easily made. It would be more difficult to manage for the charge of those proceeding by boats. Dépôts at convenient landing places on the rivers in Assam, Cachar, and Sylhet up which the steamers pass, would be required. The expense of them would be trifling, as employers would always arrange to receive their labourers on arrival. If trustworthy natives to take charge of these dépôts could not be found on the spot, they might be obtained from Dacca or elsewhere. The planters, to whose gardens the coolies were proceeding, should depute an European assistant to receive them on landing; and there, in presence of the medical officer and the local official, the two rupees bonus should be paid to the labourers. Once arrived at the gardens, the Protector would see that the coolies were judiciously and comfortably housed, &c. The duty of a Protector should be rather

to suggest the proper method of constructing and arranging coolie lines with reference to sanitary arrangements, &c., than a meddling interference, and prying into the personal treatment of the coolie. He would of course be always ready to hear the coolies' complaints, but should also have powers to protect the employer, by securing the fulfilment of the labourer's contract. The above being our view of the Protector's duties, we should think that the Civil Surgeon of the district would be the best available person for the post. We do not of course mean that that officer would be prepared to accompany every batch of coolies to their gardens, but that through his general supervision and attention to sanatory arrangements, the labourers would always find comfortable quarters ready for them. All subordinate medical officers, as also Assistant and Deputy Magistrates of Sub-Divisions, would assist in seeing that his orders were carried out. The duties would not be laborious. A medical man, whose education has embraced all those matters on which the health and comfort of the people would mainly depend could, by laying down a few general rules, by correspondence and by periodical inspection of lines, hospital, state of dispensary, &c. &c. do more practical good than half a dozen other men. A system of registration we consider to be absolutely necessary, returns being made through the Protector every three months, or oftener, to the head official of the district. These returns should show numbers of men, women, and children working, the numbers who had died, were in hospital, and who had deserted.

Captain Stewart in his report to the Bengal Government dated 7th May 1864, writes, 'There are now about 300 European planters in the district, and the returns would show 18,853 coolies at work, of whom 14,435 are imported, and the rest local labourers from Sylhet and Cachar. Last year's returns showed 9,335 imported coolies in the district, the increase during the present year would seem therefore to have been only 5,100. This is appalling when it is taken into consideration that it is an indisputable fact that since the 1st of May 1863, no less than 11,322 coolies have been imported under the new Act, not less than 1,000 having further come in under the old system since the last returns; of the 11,322 of whom a strict account has been kept, 10,351 reached the district alive, the rest having died or absconded on the way. Adding to this number that of 1,000, as a moderate computation of what arrived in Cachar after the 1st of May 1863, under the old system, we have 11,351, which added to the existing importations last year would give 20,686 as the number which should actually be in the district now, whereas the number as returned

' is only 14,435, leaving 6,251 souls to be accounted for within ' one year.'

Does this mean that in his opinion 6,251 coolies have died from ill treatment or illness, or that that number have absconded? Such a report from an official in Captain Stewart's position must necessarily carry great weight with the Government, and we can imagine nothing more likely to make it pause before giving the so-much desired assistance to the Planter to compel fulfilment of contract; but we are perfectly satisfied that the figures are wrong. The report, we believe, has been compiled from erroneous returns: and if so, the planters themselves are to blame rather than Captain Stewart. The mistake may have possibly arisen from the returns of 'coolies' having been called for; but however that may be, we believe the figures to be essentially incorrect. Most probably the reports sent in by the Planters do not include the large number of men employed on the gardens in other capacities than mere labourers. The more intelligent are chosen as burkundazes—chowkidars—sirdars—syces—grass-cutters—assistants in the workshops—tea-makers, and in various other capacities. Possibly the returns embraced only actual labourers on the gardens: in many cases women and children may not have been included; and time-expired men have possibly been altogether omitted. We cannot believe that wilful neglect or cruelty are the causes of the discrepancy. Systematic desertion *en route* and after arrival has doubtless occurred. Deaths above a reasonable rate of mortality we would ascribe partly to the number of coolies dispatched diseased, and partly to the want of proper sanitary arrangements and to the undoubted fact that the season referred to was particularly unhealthy. A gentleman, for instance, whom we know to be most considerate and careful of his people, told us that during the year referred to in Captain Stewart's report, twenty men died on a garden belonging to him, where only two died the previous season. That our view of this matter is correct, is confirmed by the following paragraph from a letter from Captain Stewart, to the Commissioner of Dacca, dated 13th September 1864, in which he says on this subject:—'The fact is that ' no sort of account appears to have been kept of the number ' of coolies received or those who have died or absconded, ' been discharged or imprisoned, and that there is no means ' of arriving at a correct result.'

An intelligent Protector of Emigrants would no doubt be most useful to both employers and employed, in inspecting coolie lines and hospitals, suggesting improvements in their position, arrangement, mode of building, &c. &c. certifying to the officials that

the coolies were properly cared for; and having summary powers to oblige the coolie to fulfil his contract. We do not think that the employer can justly complain if the Government chooses to satisfy itself that thousands of men and women and children, its subjects, transported from their homes to comparatively uncleared, and often unhealthy localities, are properly housed and cared for. We are equally sure that the labourer would have no just cause of complaint if the Government insisted on his honestly performing his contract. The main defects of Act III. of 1863, as we have before said, we take to be, absence of all recognition of the interest of Government in the importation of labour, insufficient provision for fair play to both employer and employed at the source of supply; unnecessary massing of labourers in transit, and insufficient provision at the place of final embarkation, Kooshtea; and insufficient provision at his destination for his comfort and for the honest fulfilment of his contract. We think some such system as we have suggested, combining the action of those employing the labour and the supervision of the Government in the interest of both employers and employed, would ere long ensure to the districts a willing, happy, thriving, and permanent population, sufficient to secure both the wants of the tea gardens and the undertaking of other agricultural pursuits. We may here, while admitting that at present, clearing and plucking, absorb the planter's attention, just refer to the fact that the grantees ere long will have to consider how best to secure the future stability of their property by giving their labourers a direct interest in the soil. The low lands suitable to other crops might be leased rent-free now and hereafter at low rates; with a provision for labour to be rendered at certain rates and times to the tea-factory,—a tenure, in fact, answering to the Chakra of a native Zemindar in Lower Bengal.

The cost of such an agency as we recommend, must be considered. First let us see what the present system, only for Cachar, costs, and let us take as a basis the Superintendent of Cachar's official report already referred to. From May 1863 to May 1864, 11,322 labourers have been imported under Act III. of 1863 to Cachar. The present rate is, and has been for some time, sixty rupees, let us say fifty-five, giving the cost of dispatching 11,322 coolies to be Rs. 6,22,710. Such an Agency as we recommend and capable of supplying say 24,000 coolies annually, should be kept up at an expense of about Rs. 500,000, or Rs. twenty-one per man. Could the work be done at the rate of Rs. thirty even per man to Cachar and Sylhet, and Rs. thirty-five to forty to Assam, it would be comparatively reasonable. At the present

rate 24,000 men, 12,000 to Assam, say at Rs. seventy, and 12,000 to Sylhet and Cachar at Rs. fifty-five, would cost fifteen lakhs of Rupees. The gain by proper organization would be enormous, both employers and labourers profiting by the change.

The following is merely an approximate sketch of what the annual expenditure might be:—

	Monthly.	Annually.
	Rs.	Rs.
Agent in Calcutta, at	800	9,600
Medical Inspector, „	300	3,600
Establishment and Office rent, „	200	2,400
<i>6 Recruiting Depots.</i>		
Superintendent at Rs. 300	1,800	21,600
<i>60 Recruiters, 2 Grades.</i>		
40 at Rs. 7	280	3,360
20 at „ 10	200	2,400
6 Establishments at Rs. 30	180	2,160
6 House rents at Rs. 30	180	2,160
<i>Kooshtea.</i>		
Medical Inspector having sole charge	400	4,800
Establishment and house rent	100	1,200
Rail and steamer fare, clothing, &c. at Rs. 15 p. head		
24,000 men		3,60,000
Incidental expenses		13,520
Total		Rs. 4,26,800
<i>20 Receiving Depôts at final destination.</i>		
Native Superintendent at Rs. 25	500	6,000
Establishment at Rs. 10	200	2,400
<i>Protectors.</i>		
Civil Surgeons of the Stations at Rs. 200		
4 in Assam Rs. 800		
2 in Cachar „ 400		
1 in Sylhet „ 200	1,400	16,800
Bonus to 24,000 Coolies at Rs. 2 p. head		48,000
Total		Rs. 5,00,000

The expenses from the place of disembarkation, say Rs. 73,200 should, we think, be borne by the Government, as its share of the expense of importing labour into its waste territories.

The bonus of two rupees per man thus paid would have a good effect, in convincing the coolie that his presence in the new district was desired by Government. The cost to the capitalist would at this rate be within eighteen rupees per man.

Intimately connected with the question of importing labour is that of retaining it when imported. This difficulty has always been incidental to emigration, and is specially mentioned by Political Economists as one reason what it should be conducted under the auspices of the Government. This trouble has reached a climax in the North-Eastern Tea Districts of Bengal, and we believe that both the Government of India and that of Bengal are satisfied that special legislation is absolutely necessary to compel the imported labourer to fulfil his contract to his employer.

No doubt it would be preferable to work without a contract law, but it is simply impossible to do so *till one is passed*; and in our opinion till a system of inland emigration recognised by the Government is established. The columns of the Calcutta papers have for months passed teemed with complaints of the non-fulfilment by the coolies of their contracts. In the *Englishman* of the 7th November is the statement of a case which we will instance to illustrate the question, because it is given under the name of the party aggrieved, a gentleman whom moreover we know to be incapable of cruel or unjust treatment of his labourers. Mr. J. T. Jamieson tells us that a batch of coolies having been consigned to him; he made arrangements for their being comfortably to meet them housed and fed preparatory to their joining his garden, and himself went to Seebaugor. They refused to move on the plea that there were leeches at the gardens, and that they would have to hoe land. The Deputy Commissioner explained to the coolies the impropriety of their conduct, and urged fulfilment of their engagements. They desired instead to be imprisoned. A suit was brought against the ringleaders, and the Deputy Commissioner again explained that they were bound to go to the garden and must go. To this they replied that he had no power to force them to do so, and begged rather to be put in jail. The men were sentenced to a month's imprisonment under the Penal Code. Mr. Jamieson then desired to know whether they would not still be bound after release to work out their time under their own agreement that any punishment which might be inflicted either under the Penal Code or Act XIII. of 1859 would not cancel the remaining portion of their contract; but the Deputy Commissioner said that he had no power to enforce this Clause. In fact after enduring a month's imprisonment the coolies were

free to engage themselves elsewhere in Assam, to return to the contractors in Calcutta for re-engagement, or to go to their homes. It is of course difficult to explain the motives of the coolies in thus acting ; Mr. Jamieson is known to treat his coolies well, and those who have already worked in his gardens are attached to him ; the bad repute of the planter therefore could not be the cause. In this case certainly there was no inclination on the part of the official to act against the planter's interest ; every possible consideration was shown, every thing done to settle the matter amicably. Whether it was simply the unreasoning perversity which one sometimes sees in the lower orders in India, or a desire to return to Calcutta and to reingage themselves to some dishonest contractor, or an unwillingness to serve owing to their having been deceived as to the nature of the work they would have to perform, whatever may have been the reason. Mr. Jamieson was undoubtedly very hardly and unjustly used. There are scores of cases as bad as this one. To obviate these evils something more than a desultory supervision of transit of emigrants is necessary. Every precaution must be taken to ensure the coolies fully comprehending the nature of their voluntarily entered into agreements, but this done, they should be compelled to fulfil their contracts. The principle of mutual confidence between planter and labourer is no doubt that on which the tea gardens should be worked, and nothing will sooner tend to establish such confidence than a fair contract law. Labour is now the one vital necessity of the cultivation, and it is utterly absurd to imagine that coolies will be driven from the tea gardens by ill treatment, such conduct being simply suicidal. We have heard an Assam planter on the subject, now let us hear a voice from Cachar.

On the 15th October a numerously attended meeting took place at Silchar, the head station of the district of Cachar, for the purpose of considering the position of tea planting as regards imported labour. The spirit which animated that meeting must surely satisfy the most ardent pro-coolie advocate of the kind feeling existing on the part of the planters towards the coolies. Not a word was breathed against legal provisions on behalf of the labourer. By all means, say the Cachar planters, secure kind treatment to our people by any measures you think right. We do not admit the necessity of such legislation, for we are sane if not humane men, and have no idea of as Mr. Bell said, killing the goose that lays the golden eggs, but we deprecate your one-sided legislation. It tends to foster an antagonistic feeling between us and our imported labourers. They see every possible precaution taken on their

behalf, while we are left utterly at their mercy, they being allowed to leave our service practically with impunity. We will assist in every possible way in carrying out measures to secure a healthy and contented labouring population. It is our interest to do so, but at present the coolies look on us, taught to do so by your legislation, as their natural enemies instead of as their friends. We are regarded with suspicion by the Government, this reacts on the ignorant class of men we employ, and the result must be as disastrous to the Government as to ourselves. Mr. R. C. Bell, an old indigo planter, gave a happy illustration of the relation between the European planter and his coolie in Bengal by describing the position of the colony of bonwa coolies which exists in almost every indigo factory. Whatever may have been said against the old system of indigo planting, we have never heard that the bonwa coolie was cruelly treated in an indigo factory. The relative position of the planter and coolie in a tea and indigo plantation is precisely the same. Mr. Bell in describing the position of the coolie in the latter so exactly describes what it ought to be in tea gardens, that we cannot do better than quote his own words—‘these coolies came of their own accord to the factories in batches of fifties and hundreds, and then settled down, getting from the proprietor a little land, rent-free, for the cultivation of paddy for their own consumption; this they cultivated before and after hours of work, for they steadily worked for the factory; and the provident amongst them soon became well off, comfortable, and comparatively rich. But they never thought of returning to their native country; they were content to remain where they were, where many of them were born, and so they became as it were part and parcel of the property on which they had settled; and in this manner in many of the old factories these labourers could be counted as having been settled for some two or three generations.’ Mr. Bell goes on to say ‘that the planter was kind and considerate to his coolies, partly from a natural kindness of heart, and principally because he well knew that much of the success of his year’s operations depended on their faithfulness to him. And did not the tea planter of Cachar and Assam stand in the same position towards his imported coolies? Did not the success or failure of his vast enterprise mainly depend on their faithfulness to him? and would he not do as much to make his coolie happy as the indigo planter?’ Mr. Bell also justly says ‘that although there was no special law for their protection, and they were left, should he say, to the tender mercies of the planter, such a thing as a coolie seeking redress from a Magistrate against his master was never

'heard of, although he was free to leave the factory for that 'or any other purpose at all times.' Mr. Morgan gave the meeting some very interesting information regarding the Mauritius, and explained how planter and imported coolie were alike protected in that colony. He claimed even-handed justice for both sides. While strongly deprecating the exportation beyond sea of a single coolie from India to the Mauritius or elsewhere, we are aware that many useful hints may be derived from that colony as to the management of an imported population. Mr. Morgan asks for laws similar to those existing in the Mauritius for the regulation of coolie labour and for 'stipendiary magistrates to overlook and enforce the same.' 'This would afford, 'he says,' to Government the best guarantee of the uprightness and honesty of our intentions, as the 'province of the stipendiary magistrate and his jurisdiction 'would be a protectorship for the coolie at the same time that 'for us it would be a guarantee for our future.' That the position of tea cultivation in Cachar (and the same may be said of Assam) is becoming most serious, is evident from the statistical facts laid before this meeting at Silchar by its Chairman Mr. A. P. Sandeman, and embodied in its Resolutions. It appears that during the past seasons operations 'the quantity and 'quality of tea manufactured has suffered to the extent of thirty 'to forty per cent.'—'that at least 3,000 acres of land cleared 'for cultivation has from the same cause lapsed again into jungle;' the present cultivation being in all 28,000 acres. It appears that lately there were at one time so many as 300 coolies in the Silchar jail for breach of contract. We have no doubt that after the passing of a law for fulfilment of contract this exceptional state of things will pass away, but at present the necessity for some law to ensure fulfilment of contract appears to be generally admitted: and it is understood that a bill for this purpose will shortly be introduced into the Bengal Council. We hope that a wish to provide for the interests of the coolie will not cause the insertion of vexatious clauses which would make the successful working of the law almost impossible, or at all events dependent entirely on the personal bias of those charged with its administration. We have heard that the proposed law specially empowers the magistrate to suspend the contract of female labourers, on the plea of pregnancy or 'family duties'; thus necessitating the addition of the study of midwifery to the curriculum of our competitionwallahs, to enable them to decide whether the female complainants come under the clause or not. It provides for extra allowances to the labourer when sick, a sure premium for idleness! also for re-engagement under the aus-

pices of the magistrate at the expiry of the turn of service. Re-engagement under existing circumstances may be expedient, but it should be the aim of Government and the Tea Planter to settle an agricultural population accustomed to work for hire, not to perpetuate a body of contract labourers. Provision is made, we believe for domiciliary inspection: and the summoning of labourers to enquire into the treatment of themselves and fellow-labourers. Such provisions by law are vexatious. Interference between employers and employed should be avoided as much as possible. The ordinary administration of the law, Courts being increased in number if necessary, should suffice to protect the labourer on a tea plantation, as it does the bonwa coolie or ryot elsewhere. Whatever special supervision is necessary should be embraced in the duties of the Protector. We believe the proposed Act provides for the transfer of contracts in case of transfer of the estates, and also for punishment for breach of contract, which punishment will not release the labourer from the obligation of working out his full period of service. This is just, and will no doubt have a beneficial effect: but, whatever law is passed should, we think, be based on the principle of Government having a direct interest in populating the tea districts. Were Act III. of 1863 repealed, a new Act might embrace provisions for care in selecting labour in the first instance and protection of emigrants in transit and on arrival at their destination; providing at the same time for the due fulfilment of contracts. It is worthy of consideration whether a few acres of land near the jail might not be advantageously cultivated with tea and other products of the district by the prisoners. Botanical Gardens at Silchar, Sebsaugor, and other centres of tea cultivation would be both useful and ornamental, and the proceeds, at least from the tea portion of them, would soon more than defray all expenditure connected with the jails: and might in time form a fund, to be supplemented if necessary by a percentage from the proceeds of sale of waste lands, for the payment of all Government charges connected with the importation of labour into the several tea districts.

Simultaneously with the opening of hitherto waste provinces, and the consequent demand for labour, necessarily came demand for coin to pay that labour. The land revenue of the tea districts themselves was of course comparatively small, and when cultivation became extended, the want of a sufficient circulation was severely felt. Government admitted the difficulty; and measures were adopted to supply the want. It was arranged that the Calcutta currency circle should be extended to Assam, Cachar, and Sylhet, one place of issue in Assam,

Gowhatty, being fixed on, and the Collector of Gowhatty was authorized not only to cash all notes of the Gowhatty issue, but to deal liberally with notes of all other circles to a moderate amount, which might be presented. These arrangements contributed to facilitate the circulation in the tea districts, but it was evident that ten rupee notes would be useless as a circulating medium among the lower classes, especially when we remember the large number of coolies employed on the tea plantations. Coin therefore became absolutely necessary. Its importation by every individual trader to the extent of his own wants, would, it is plain, have entailed great inconvenience and expense. The revenue of the tea districts themselves, would, after satisfying the Government wants, supply a certain portion of the cash required, and this was at once made available by the sale in Calcutta of Bills on the Treasuries in the tea districts. It would obviously cost less to send the surplus revenue from these outlying districts to those treasuries on which drafts would require to be drawn, than to remit it to Calcutta. Hence the issue of Bills to the extent of the surplus, even at a small discount, would be a gain to Government. The judicious arrangements made by the Government of Bengal, for the provision of a sufficient amount of specie to meet the Bills drawn on the various Treasuries in the tea districts, have worked admirably. The Government and the trade of the North-Eastern districts have mutually benefited. Instead of the costly and clumsy method of dispatch of treasure under escort, and where steam was available, that comparatively expensive mode of transit; the safe, cheap, and expeditious plan of remittance by sale of bills was adopted; thus the trade of the tea districts conferred a boon upon the Government which that of Bengal was not slow to appreciate, or, if the other way of putting it be preferred, the public received a legitimate assistance from its Government for which it was thankful. During the past year the funds required by Tea Planters, lime merchants, and other traders, have been obtained regularly by means of drafts at half per cent. premium, to cover whatever expense may have been incurred by Government. The specie thus made available was not however sufficient for the wants of the growing trade: nor was there Banking business in the district sufficient to warrant the establishment of Branch Banks. Under these circumstances, it became a question how Government might assist trade by throwing a further supply of coin into the districts. This, it was proposed, should be done by extending the area from which treasure was dispatched, and by making available the surplus revenue from Sylhet, Dacca, Tipperah,

Mymensing, Rungpoor, and Backergunge; any extra expense to Government being provided for by an additional charge of a quarter per cent. premium.

The Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department, in a letter dated the 3rd of June 1864, has however ordered the withdrawal of the accommodation, on the grounds, it would appear, of loss to the Government, and a wish not to interfere with legitimate Banking business. The letter is addressed to the Government of Bengal, its language is curt and abrupt, and its tone the reverse of courteous. The spirit of its remarks regarding 'Tea Planters' is very unlike that which would characterise allusions to gentlemen connected with a most important branch of commerce in a dispatch from Mr. Gladstone. The letters of the Bengal Government to which the one under notice is a reply are said to 'relate to two totally distinct matters, *viz.*, the progress of the Paper Currency in Assam, and 'the supply of funds for the use of the Tea Planters in Assam and Cachar,' to be propositions 'to the effect that nine lakhs of rupees are to be held in reserve in the Local Treasuries in Assam and Cachar, to meet the private remittances of gentlemen engaged in trade or tea planting in those provinces, in addition to what is required for the public service,' 'the Governor-General in Council' is said to be 'of opinion that it would be as reasonable to pay a portion of the wages of the labourers of the Tea Planters out of the Public Treasury, as to pay the expense of remitting the silver which is required to pay the labourers.' The letter goes on to say, 'Even if there were no such decided financial objection, there is no apparent reason why the Government should undertake generally to do this business for the planters, *first*, because it is believed that they are quite capable of doing it for themselves; and *secondly*, because it is generally very undesirable that the Government should undertake to do anything of this kind for the community, which the community can do for itself, inasmuch as it prevents private Banks, operating by means of private capital, from being established at proper places in the interior.' It is announced that the existing accommodation will be withdrawn on the 31st of December 1864, in the following terms:—'But as the Governor-General is unwilling suddenly to put a stop to an arrangement whereby the convenience of a number of persons is for the present promoted, before time is allowed for the formation of Local Branch Banks, through the agency of which assistance may be given at the expense of those who may require it, the existing arrangement will remain unchanged until the end of December

next.' The surplus local revenue in Assam and Cachar, with that of the outlying district of Mymensing is alone to be available to the 'Planters'; who are roundly told that they cannot be relieved 'at the public expense from the duty and 'responsibility which properly belongs to them.'

This letter, a unique specimen of official correspondence, is to be found in the supplement to the *Gazette of India* for 23rd July 1864.

It is a curious coincidence that the letter from the Government of Bengal, to the Officiating Deputy Auditor and Accountant-General of Bengal, to which this one from the Financial Department of the Government of India specially refers, does not once mention tea planters or the tea trade. Of course it is patent to every one that it is to the cultivation of tea that the extraordinary and rapid development of Assam and Cachar are to be attributed: but the currency and bill arrangements are properly spoken of with reference to the 'great convenience to 'the public,' 'facilities to trade,' 'interests of the internal commerce of Bengal.' It was not a question as to what branch of trade was facilitated. It happens that tea is the principal export from the North-Eastern provinces; but it is no fault of the British subjects of the Government that this is the case. They would gladly be driving a flourishing trade with the adjacent province of Munnipoor, in coffee, India rubber, ivory, silk, vanille, ponies, &c. &c. It is no fault of theirs that ere now, communication between our Eastern territory and the precious-stone bearing district in Burmah and so on to China has not been opened out; the nearest garrison town of the latter country is not much more than 200 miles from Silchar; and the province to which it belongs, teems with a population that would gladly emigrate to our territory, had they a free passage through Munipoor. But to return to the Financial Secretary's letter. The Bengal Government has replied with dignity and force to its sneering paragraphs. The assumption that it was proposed to apply the public revenue to pay the wages of the labourers of the tea plantations is as reasonable as it would be to say that Sir Charles Wood employs the revenues of India to pay the coolies who load ships in the Hooghly, because the money received from the General Treasury in Calcutta by merchants in payment of bills drawn by the Secretary of State in London is used in trade. The Bengal Government replies courteously to the string of uncalled-for assumptions, that 'the propositions contained in paragraphs 5 to '10 of the letter from this office, No. 209 T. dated the 18th May '1864, to the Officiating Deputy Auditor and Accountant-Ge-

'neral, Bengal, appear to have been somewhat misunderstood,'
 proceeds quietly and ably to point out the real position, and
 asks permission to use 'the surplus receipts of Rungpore,
 'Sylhet, Tipperah, Dacca, and Backergunge, to the full extent
 'that may be required for the purposes of internal trade,' and
 suggests in what, from the tenor of the objections answered,
 cannot but appear a vein of polished irony, that 'if the demands
 'for Bills on Assam and Cachar should hereafter at any time seem
 'likely to exceed the amount which these treasuries can yield,
 'a remedy should be supplied, not by a sudden refusal to grant
 'Bills on Assam and Cachar on any terms, but by a timely rise
 'in the rate of premium, the effect of which would be to give
 'traders time and opportunity for making other arrangements
 'and at the same time to secure the Government against
 'the possibility of loss.' The Bengal Government continues on
 behalf of the commercial interest in the North-Eastern districts.
 These recommendations I am to add, are made, not as the
 'Government of India would seem to have supposed, in the in-
 'terest of the tea planters alone, but in that of the large body
 'of traders, European and Native, who are engaged in agricul-
 'ture and trade in Assam and Cachar, and who, while pursuing
 'their own occupations, are at the same time augmenting the
 'commerce and the public revenues of Bengal. Great considera-
 'tion is due to those who embark their capital in individual
 'enterprise in districts, which, though they have formed part of
 'British India for more than a quarter of a century, are still
 'without roads, or any means of communication with the capital
 'and the sea-coast, except such as nature has provided. It is
 'to be observed also that while the revenue drawn from Bengal
 'has for years past been liberally given for public works in other
 'parts of India, Bengal itself has not until quite lately been
 'allowed in any way to benefit by the expenditure of her own
 'surplus income on reproductive works, and even now the sum
 'allotted to her for this purpose is less in proportion to area,
 'population, or revenue, than that allotted to any other province.
 'It seems to the Lieut.-Governor under these circumstances,
 'a small thing for the Government to assist the operations of
 'trade in this direction by continuing an arrangement which
 'has caused no public inconvenience, and by so arranging its
 'specie remittances, as to place money where it is most wanted
 'at the least possible expense, instead of conveying large quan-
 'tities of coin from distant districts to the presidency merely
 'that it may be carried back in the direction whence it came at
 'the cost and risk of individuals.' The Civilian Governor
 contrasts curiously with the English Treasury Lord and Politi-

cal Economist, who has apparently been unable to rid himself of the anti-interloper crust acquired in his old Indian training thirty years ago.

The grounds assigned for withdrawing the accommodation are loss said to be incurred by Government in the remittance of specie from the various outlying Treasuries, loss of interest on the cash balances it is necessary to keep to meet the bills, and a consideration for private enterprise shewn in the wish not to interfere with the establishment of banks. We confess we do not understand how the loss on the remittance of specie is made out. The cost of sending coin from many of the Treasuries to Calcutta would far exceed that of despatching it to Assam and Cachar. From some it might be the same, and probably from one or two the cost might be a trifle more, but any possible loss was amply provided against by the proposed charge of half per cent. premium to be increased to three-quarters per cent. on the area being extended. The loss ascribed to the retention of the necessary balances on the Treasuries to meet the bills is we are satisfied, merely nominal if not altogether imaginary, for it must be remembered that the sale of bills is not uncertain or fluctuating. The bulk of remittances is made by the large joint stock companies and individuals engaged in the cultivation of tea, and the annual amount required can be ascertained at the commencement of the year within a few thousands of rupees. Then as to the prevention of the establishment of private banks? the Financial Secretary of the Government of India says, 'Considering how greatly additional capital is wanted in India, and how willing England is to afford it, this must be admitted to be a great evil.' To this the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal justly replies that even were branch banks established, it would still be incumbent on the Government to make the surplus receipts available to the banks for the public convenience; but it is a fact that there is *not* sufficient business to warrant the establishment of a branch bank either in Assam or Cachar. That England is willing to give additional capital to India may be true enough, but England would wish to be satisfied that provinces a few years ago swarming with tigers and elephants are ripe for the establishment of banks. We would be the last to underrate the enterprise of our countrymen in Assam and Cachar, but they have no desire to assume a position to which they have not yet attained. It is with curious inconsistency that the Financial Department assumes that these provinces are so advanced, when it is doing all it can to retard their prosperity. The district of Cachar alone will this year export about 1,200,000 lbs. of tea which at the present duty of one shilling a pound will

yield say £60,000 to the British Government. Within the next four or five years the Customs' revenue from the districts affected by this great stroke of financial economy should exceed a million sterling. It does seem hard that such a trade at a time too when it is labouring under the heavy disadvantages of scarcity and dearness of labour should be throttled for a paltry saving of a few hundred pounds. That the order cannot and will not be carried out we are sure, but the fact of its having been proposed is too extraordinary to be overlooked. It is a measure worthy of the old deporting and obstructive times of the East India Company.* It might have been supposed that this sudden stoppage of supplies would cause great inconvenience, and possibly throw the tea districts into serious confusion, especially as it was well known that a large proportion of the population are dependant for their daily food on regular supplies of cash to the tea gardens. The Financial Department cannot plead ignorance of this fact after taunting the Bengal Government that the accommodation was wanted 'to pay the wages of the labourers in tea gardens.' When so much interest is taken by Government in the transit of the imported population, a little more consideration might have been shewn for their wants after they were imported. It may be said that six months' warning was given. In reply to this we can only say that this warning was a mere adding of insult to injury, and that the measure appeared so wantonly unjust and absurd that the planters could never realize that it would be actually carried out. It has been suggested that remittances might be made from Calcutta by currency notes and presented for cash at the Treasuries, thus causing Government great inconvenience and forcing it to supply coin to sustain its own credit. It is forgotten, however, that a currency note can only legally be presented for cash at its own place of issue. For Assam, Cachar, and Sylhet that place is Gowhatty, and these only for notes of its own issue. Only notes therefore with the Gowhatty distinguishing mark would be available as remittances, and these would not be procurable in any number in Calcutta. To accommodate the public, but in connection with the arrangements for sufficient supply of coin, the Collector of Gowhatty was certainly ordered not to refuse the notes of any circle to a modern extent, but with the stopping of arrangements to supply coin to meet this demand, the facility of

* Since these lines were written, the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal's proposal to make the surplus treasure of the districts, mentioned above, available to the tea districts, has been acceded to by the Government of India. This was to be expected so soon as the matter received Sir John Lawrence's personal attention.

cashing notes of other circles would of course cease. We have said more than needful, it may be thought, on this subject, but the matter is in itself one of vital importance, and it is well that our home readers should understand in what straits their countrymen in India are sometimes placed. It is curious that the 'C. E. Trevelyan', who was one of Lord William Bentinck's Tea Committee just thirty years ago, should have so little sympathy with the success of that great experiment in which Lord William took so deep an interest. Fortunately for the trade of the North-Eastern Provinces the more enlarged policy of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has neutralized the narrower views of the Financier of the Government of India.

We have traced so far as our knowledge and the information at our disposal has enabled us to do so, the cultivation of Tea in India from its first discovery to the present time. The importance of the discovery some forty years ago by the brothers Bruce we have seen was at once appreciated by Lord William Bentinck, the possibility of the profitable culture was tested and proved at the Experimental Tea Gardens of the Government, mainly under the able management of Dr. Jamieson. The cultivation received a great impetus by the facility afforded for the acquisition of tea land by the liberal sale-of-waste-land rules of Lord Canning. Capital was freely poured forth from the accumulations at home both to open out gardens, and to assist by advances to carry them on. For a time there seemed a mania for tea cultivation. Land jobbers made large sums of money, and gardens made for sale and sold to Companies realized enormous sums. Matters went on in this way and were fast assuming, if they had not already assumed, an unhealthy aspect, when the extreme scarcity of money at the close of 1863 checked speculation and caused a reaction. Till then the new undertaking had progressed rapidly and apparently with uninterrupted success. During 1863 however, the anticipated scarcity of labour began to be severely felt. Extensions beyond the means of working them helped to make this want the more pressing. The evils of an ill-organized system of inland emigration were experienced, and it became the duty of Government to legislate for the protection of the imported labourers. The almost immediate result was enormously increased cost of labour with little corresponding advantage to the coolie; and this because the legislation was unfortunately one-sided, and ignored the direct interest of the Government in emigration; no precautions being taken to secure fulfilment of contract, the imported labourers soon discovered that they might cancel their agreements

with impunity, and did so. In the midst of these difficulties the Government of India, or rather its Financial Department, threatened after the close of the year 1864 to annul the facilities afforded by the Government of Bengal for the circulation of coin in the tea districts, and although this threat was not carried into effect in the way intended, the necessities of the Bhootan expedition have for a time interrupted remittances in the usual manner. Although the heads of both the Government of India and that of Bengal are without doubt heartily desirous of encouraging the enterprise of their countrymen by every legitimate means in their power, the prospect of soon becoming independent of China for our tea has nevertheless been suddenly overclouded. The difficulties of the subject are however, we are sure, fully recognised. Over-speculation was, we hope, checked in time, and the great hindrances to the successful prosecution of the enterprise, though very serious, are not we trust insurmountable. A Contract Law is now acknowledged to be necessary, and if the Government will but allow that it has a direct interest in the importation of a 'robust' labouring population into its waste territory, and make organization for Inland Emigration on a large scale feasible, the present difficulties will, we feel sure soon vanish, and the tea-trade of India will become of far greater importance than even Lord William Bentinck ever anticipated. Our remarks on the present culture and manufacture of tea are we know open to criticism. They are given as suggestions, and with the view as much of eliciting as of giving information. We have pointed out the danger we think all Tea Companies must experience from unsound adjustment of their Capital and Revenue Accounts, and have endeavoured to impress on all interested the vital importance of attention to the comfort and wants of the imported labourer.

We have already exceeded our space, and can only in conclusion hope that all interested in the great enterprise will do their best towards developing the tea trade of India; the Government, recognising the difficulties of importing and retaining labour, will we trust see it their duty to assist in the introduction of a healthy population into the tea districts, competent to work and to form the nucleus of a thriving happy community. The tea planters on the other hand must clearly recognise their duty to assist the Government in carrying out measures for the comfort of their imported labourers. They must not wince at necessary regulations, but work hand in hand with Protectors, when they are appointed, to ensure the health and comfort of their people. When the imported population find their European employers are their friends, mindful of them when sick, reasonable in their

demands on their time, and providing for the instruction of their children, they will become attached to their new homesteads, and will soon become rooted to the soil. A contract law will become a dead letter, and the tea districts of Bengal will be peopled with a British and native population, mutually depending on and attached to each other. A boon will at the same time be conferred on our country, by making it independent of a foreign despot for a necessary of life; a rich trade will be opened up, bringing with it a large addition to the Revenue, and another outlet will be given to the surplus energy of Great Britain.

NOTE.—We have with much pleasure given a place to this article as a temperate and fairly written statement of the case from the planters' point of view. At the same time it may be necessary to state in order to avoid misapprehension that we by no means go entirely with the author in his view of the action which Government ought to take in promoting emigration to the tea districts. We would lay down two principles:—*first*, that Government ought to have a settled and definite policy on every question of political importance likely to come before it:—*second*, that Government should never undertake anything which any person or body of persons interested can do for themselves. In the case before us, it is right for the Government to take into consideration whether the settlement in the tea districts of a body of agricultural labourers drawn from various parts of India be, on broad grounds, advantageous to the state or not. Even if the answer be negative, it would be no business of Government to *check* the immigration, which is a question between man and man; but it would be its duty to avoid encouraging or assisting the immigration by special legislation or special instructions to its executive. If, as is far more probable, the result of such inquiry would be favourable, our second principle comes into play. The limits of the action of Government will be strictly defined by the simple rule that, if what is expedient towards the recognized end, can be done by private enterprise and association, Government may not undertake it; the whole work of Government in a matter of this sort (independent of the common supervision which it is bound to exercise under general laws over all that goes on) is *supplementary* to the work of the parties interested. In recruiting coolies, Government is bound to see that unfit men, who are likely not to endure the hardships of the passage, are not permitted to leave their homes, and this not because the planters are not interested in the selection of fit men, but because they have no agency which can adequately control the selection; but that Government should in any way *invite* parties to leave their homes is not to be heard of. So with the expenses of passage; (*see p. 329.*) Why should Government bear any part of the share of the expense? It would *pay* the employers of labours to undertake the whole expense, and why therefore should the public at large be saddled with any portion of it? Let those pay who derive a direct gain from the transaction; not the common taxpayer, who cannot be expected to appreciate a drain upon his purse for motives of pure philanthropy, or the well-being of a remote province. The principle is common-place enough; and has long been recognized and acted upon in the dealings of the English Government with railways and the like; but it seems to require constant reiteration in this country. All that Government, admitting to the full its interest in the colonization of Cachar, is bound to do for the capitalist, is to secure free scope for his endeavours to recruit labourers, and to take care that the indi-

vidual capitalist, who has spent money in collecting and conveying labourers, shall be the person to benefit from their labour; and for this a well considered contract law appears to be requisite. On the other hand there exists undoubtedly a feeling, betrayed by several of the speakers in the late Cachar meeting, that Government is doing too much for the other party to the transaction, for the labourers themselves. All these gentlemen admit to the full that the well-being of the labourer must be a subject of vital importance to the planter, and rely upon their own interest in the matter to secure good treatment for their coolies. But experience in all parts of the world has shown that this is a broken reed to lean upon. The enlightened self-interest of educated men may be trusted. But there are Legrees and Schonemanns in every community, and law and administration must always pre-suppose such cases. Nineteen-twentieths of the Cachar planters may be left to themselves without 'vexatious interference'; good, but what influence has their right feeling upon the remaining twentieth? they are content to feel that they treat their own coolies well, but what measures have they taken to prevent the misconduct of a Schonemann, or to bring him to justice when guilty? If the right-thinking class of the community formed themselves into a Coolie's Protection Society, Government would no doubt be glad not to interfere; but this is just one of the cases where the interest of Government is distinct (it being one of the fundamental duties of Government to protect all classes from oppression) and the interest of the individual (in the well-being of other people's labourers) is so remote, as seldom to be able to overcome the habitual indolence and passivity which we feel about the affairs of others; and therefore one of the cases in which the interference of Government is just and necessary; and the only question is, how it can be exercised in the least vexatious way.—EDITOR.

ART. III.—1. *La Religion Primitive des Indo-Européens; par Eugene Flotard.* 8vo. Paris, 1864.

2. *The Rig-Veda Sanhita, Liber Primus*, 1 vol. 4to. London, Oriental Translation Fund, Allen and Co., 1836.

3. *The Chandogya Upanishad of the Sama Veda; with Extracts from the Commentaries of Sankara Acharya. Translated from the original Sanskrit, by Rajendra Lal Mitra.* Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1862.

4. *Sankara Bejoy*, by Anunda Giri. MSS.

5. *Chaitanaya Charita Mrita, or Life of Chaitanaya.* Bengali, 1 vol. 4to.

6. *Discourses read at the Meetings of the Hindu Theophilanthropic Society, Vol. I.* Calcutta: by P. S. D'Rozario and Co. 1844.

7. *The Tattwa Bhodini Potrika.*

8. *The Brahmo Somaj Vindicated, being the Substance of a Lecture delivered ex-tempore at the Calcutta Brahmo Somaj Hall on Saturday, 18th April 1863,* Calcutta: Saviello and Collier, Cossitollah. 1863.

THE Hindu religion represents a composite faith. It was gradually moulded into the double form of an exoteric and esoteric creed, separating the practical and popular worship from the speculative and philosophical doctrines. While the great mass of the people addressed their fears, their wishes, and their aspirations to images carved out of wood, stone, and metal, some few of cultivated minds and comprehensive intellect, pondered on the profundities of man and nature, and followed a philosophical creed. But the votaries of Vishnu and Shiva, Doorga and Kali, in the almost endless variety of forms in which these deities are worshipped, profess that their mode of worship, though immediately springing from the Poorans, is based on the Vedas.

The professors of the esoteric creed, while maintaining that its essence is the doctrine of the unity of God, permit and even inculcate idolatry, as suited to those who are, by reason of their limited understanding, incapacitated from realizing and worshipping the one true God.

Ignorance is the foundation of superstition. It has

been for a long time a moot question to theologians and philosophers whether theism or idolatry is of more ancient origin. There are some who suppose that theism is in accordance with the intuitions and first suggestions of the human mind, and by no means incompatible with an infantine state of society, but that idolatry is the result of a variety of conclusions arrived at by different men, differently circumstanced, in a long course of ages; while others advocate the priority of idolatry, and maintain that theism presupposes a very high degree of mental and moral cultivation. Idolatry certainly arises from the partial and distorted ideas to which the faculties of man are limited when they are uncultivated, and theism generally is the result of philosophical generalization. As long as men look upon isolated facts, they cannot divest themselves of narrow and false views of the universe and its creator. Considering the phenomena of the universe as unconnected with each other, and attributing them to different agencies, they are led to recognise an Agni as the principle of the organic world, and an Indra as the governor of the firmament, but the simple and sublime idea of one director over all implies a capacity to appreciate the phenomena of both the natural and moral worlds as parts of one system and subserving to one end. It is grounded on the recognition of two grand principles, *viz.* that every thing created must have a creator, and that a combination of means, however seemingly opposed to each other, conspiring to one end, implies one supreme intelligence. We are however prepared to confess that the history of the religion of the Hindus specially favours neither the former nor the latter view, but partially supports both. Hinduism commenced in Sabeism or elemental worship, progressed to theism, and culminated in a debasing and demoralizing idolatry. It is therefore not always safe to assert that those are the most ancient religions, which are the most gross and absurd in their superstitions, and those the most recent, which are the simplest in their belief. The history of Hinduism is not one of steady and unbroken progression in the true sense of the word. But on the other hand it has not stood still, but passed through many stages of development.

In tracing the history of Hinduism, it must be remembered that the features of the external world, or what Buckle calls the physical aspects of nature, have in India, exercised a great influence in moulding the religion of the country. While in England, external nature is small and feeble, in India she is great and terrific. This difference has naturally moulded the minds of the two races, and produced corresponding differences in their mental constitutions. The Englishman has been encouraged

and taught to subordinate his imagination to his understanding. The Hindu has been intimidated, his imagination aroused, and his understanding dwarfed. The former has learnt to conquer nature, the latter has succumbed to her. In the vastness and power which are predicated of Agni and Indra, Vayu and Mitra, in the Vedic era, and of Shiva and Krishna, Doorga and Kali, in the Pooranic period, we see how the appalling aspects of the external world have filled the minds of the Hindus with the ideas of the terrible and the marvellous. In no country in Asia are the force and majesty of nature so powerfully exhibited as in India. Her impassable forests, her luxuriant vegetation, abounding in gigantic creepers and stupendous *ficuses*, her vast rivers traversing the length and breadth of the country, and her cloud-capped mountains, the fabled abode of Rishis and Devatas, have from time immemorial excited in the Hindu mind ideas of the vague and uncontrollable, the undefined and the undefinable, the marvellous and the miraculous. Contrasting himself with these features of the external world, the diminutive Hindu is oppressed and bewildered by their majestic and imposing grandeur on the one hand, and his own insignificance and inferiority on the other. His mind instead of enquiring into and analyzing the appearances and phenomena of nature refers them to supernatural causes. Unable to generalize those phenomena and looking only on isolated facts, he became first a worshipper of the elements, and then of heroes. We therefore believe that the Hindu superstition has arisen from a timid and torpid state of mind, which is naturally induced by the appalling appearances of nature. The imagination having been aroused, the understanding was proportionately weakened; human power having failed, superhuman power was invoked.

But notwithstanding the unfavourable influence exercised by the aspects of nature on the Hindu mind, it has always had a peculiar aptitude for contemplation, it has delighted from time immemorial in subtle and metaphysical disquisitions on the nature of God, of life and the universe, its conjectures were gradually matured into dogmas, and the dogmas ripened into systems.

The Vedas are the earliest and sublimest machinery set in motion by the Hindu intellect.

They portray the first yearning of the Aryan mind in India to rise from the creation to the Creator, and give us an insight into the great schism which divided the Hindu from the Iranian Aryan. Working upon them, Monsieur Flotard has traced with great tact and ingenuity the primitive idea of the God-head and the celestial hierarchy which the Aryans entertained

before their migration to India and Persia. It is not our object in this article to enter into the history of the Aryan religion as it is developed in pre-Vedic times; we must refer those who take an interest in the subject to the researches of the learned author, the name of whose work heads this article.

The Vedas are, as is well known to our Oriental readers, divided into the Mantras or the devotional parts, and the Brahmanas or the ceremonial parts. Attached to the latter are the *Upanishadas* containing the expositions of the authors' minds—these are the quintessence of the Vedas, and replete with lofty speculations.

The Vedas are supposed to have been breathed out by Brahma. They are said to have been perpetuated by tradition, (and hence called *Sruti*), until they were arranged into their present order by that mythic personage, Krishna Dwaipáyana Vyása. Being the first essays of the Hindus in the department of religious and philosophical literature, it is no wonder that they should be received by them as a divine revelation.

The hymns of the Rig-Veda, professing to date from eternity, were seen by the Vedic Rishis and numbered 1028; the three other Vedas, the Yajush, Sáma, and Atharva, are a recast of the Rig, the bulk of their contents being taken in their entirety from the latter. The Yajush-Veda only prescribes a ritual and is a collation of liturgical formulæ; the invocations to the divinities are mostly borrowed from the Rig, while the few original ones refer to the purification of the paraphernalia of sacrificial rites. The Sáma Veda is another edition of the Rig,—the Hymnic portion is the same and is only arranged in a different order. The Atharva is a more recent production than the other Vedas, and does not command so much veneration as these. The Tri-Vidya or the three-fold wisdom of the ancient Hindu, refers to the three Vedas,—Rig, Yajush, and Sáma, and not to the Atharva. The Hymnic and Brahmanic parts of the Vedas relate the production of the universe, the nature and attributes of the Supreme Being, and the nature of the soul.

The Rig-Veda is the substratum of the Hindu religion. It is unquestionably the most ancient record of the institutions to which that religion gave rise. Its Mantras, which are poetical, refer only incidentally to the performance of the *yajna* and to pious and ritual acts as far as these are connected with contemporaneous events. They were not expressly compiled for any eucharistic performances, and describe other matters than religious sacrifices, such, for instance, as the magnificence of the phenomena of nature, and the strength of the passions unregulated by reason

and judgment. They reflect the growth and development of the national life of Hindustan. They show how the Northern Aryans were settling and consolidating into a civilized and prosperous nation. But the Yajush and Sáma Veda, though a reflex of the Rig, are better adapted to religious performance than their original. The verses of the former were repeated at the sacrifices performed with the *samalatá beer*, or the fermented liquor of the *soma* plant. They corresponded in fact to the elaborate ceremonial connected with the Soma sacrifices. The verses of the Yajush Veda were likewise suited to ceremonies and intoned by priests on those occasions. These ceremonies were elaborate and lasted for weeks and months. Their performance required an army of priests, songsters, ladle-holders, and sacrificers. They constituted the national religion, and took such possession of the national mind as to blind it to the sanctity of the Rig-Veda, which was soon outstripped by that of the Yajush and Sáma—especially the former. The great Vedic Commentator of Sayaná says that the Yajur Veda is a wall, the other two are like a painting (on it.)

The Hymns of the Rig-Veda are addressed mostly to Agni and Indra, the personifications of fire and firmament. The very first *Súkta* (Hymn) declares ‘I glorify Agni, the high priest of ‘the sacrifice, the divine, the ministrant, who presents the oblation ‘(to the gods), and is the possessor of great wealth.’ Agni is invoked as the *Agra* or first of the gods, as the *Agraní* or leader of the heavenly host, and as the *Prathama Devata* or the first of the gods.

Indra is thus invoked, ‘Day by day we invoke the doer of ‘good works for our protection, as a good milch cow for the ‘milking, (is called by the milker)’ ‘Drinker of the Soma juice, ‘come to our (daily) rites, and drink of the libations, the satisfaction of (thee who art) the bestower of riches, is verily (the ‘cause of) the gift of cattle.’ Hymns are also addressed to Váyu, the Maruts or the winds, and the twin Aswini Coomars.

The sun is invoked as the celestial representative of fire, and is hymned under the different names of Mitra, Púshan, Bhaga, Vishnu, Súrya, and Sābitri.

But Agni is the chief divinity of the Vedas. He is acknowledged as the principle of animal life, and the vivifying source of vegetation.

Thus we see the Vedic pantheon to be different from the Pooranic. It recognizes no Krishna, Shiva, Doorgá or Káli. It is not based like the later one on the Trimúrti or combination of Brahmá the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Shiva the Destroyer. There was no place in it for the incarnations of

those divinities. The worship represented by the Hymns of the Vedas was not a deification of heroes, but the personification of the elements. It was the worship of the powers of nature, which revealed themselves to the ancient Hindu as most potent and marvellous, but it did not embody the divine into human figures. It was domestic and patriarchal, and necessitated, as we have already said, the employment of a large number of Hotris or officiating priests. It comprised besides the invocations the ceremony of Homa or of libation of ghee and *soma* juice poured on fire. The ceremony of Ashwamedha, or the sacrifice of the horse was also performed. The objects of prayer and praise, offered to the divinities, were chiefly benefits of a temporal nature, such as wealth, cattle, health, offspring, protection against enemies and evil spirits. Moral benefactions are also demanded, as expiation from sin and extrication from its effects.

This physical religion or elementalism, as it might be called, developed into the Monotheism of the Vedas, which inculcated the existence of one supreme intelligence before all. 'In the 'beginning,' it is said, 'this all (this universe) was in darkness.' 'He (the supreme) was alone, without a second.' 'He reflected "I am one, I will become many."'

Again the Aitaréya Aranya of the Rig-Véda says originally, 'this (universe) was indeed Soul only; nothing else whatsoever existed, active (or inactive.) He thought, "I will create worlds," thus He created these (various) worlds; water, light, mortal (beings), and waters.'

The elements came to be regarded as types and emblems of the Great Power, ruling the universe, and ceased to be considered and worshipped as independent divinities.

Hindu society was thus built upon the Vedic dispensation; the institution of caste was established, and the division of labour was recognized as one of the first principles of the Aryan confederation on the banks of the Sutlege. The Brahmuns as the expounders of the Vedas were vested with the functions of legislation and administration. It was their business to interpret the Scriptures, to pronounce their decisions on cases, and to regulate by their wisdom and learning the machinery of government. Though they exercised unlimited authority as legislators, judges, and priests, yet they did not assume the functions of royalty.

The Kshetriyas or second class were appointed to defend and govern the country, but the Kshetriyas abused their powers and violated the Vedas, and oppressed the people. The Brahmuns, the Vaishyas, and the Shudras, smarting under their tyranny, rose

against the governing class. They found a bold and intrepid leader in Parshurama, who declared it was his mission to exterminate the tyrants. They waged a terrible crusade against the Kshetriyas and almost rooted them out of the lands, in conformity with the resolution of their leader. The effect of this revolution was to cement the power of the Brahmuns. But to keep it within proper bounds, it was resolved that the Brahmuns should exercise only the legislative authority, and be debarred from taking any active share in the political and fiscal administration of the State. Thus freed from the cares and anxieties of office, and saved from the turmoils of the contest for riches and power, the sages of the sacerdotal class devoted themselves in the seclusion of their *ashramas* to the pursuits of philosophy and religion. Living in honourable poverty, but freely mixing with all classes and commanding their profound respect, they enjoyed ample opportunities of knowing the wants and wishes of the people. This knowledge was of infinite value to them in framing laws for the good government of the country. Central and local legislatures were established, and distinguished Brahmuns like Bhrigu and Yajñavalkya were appointed to preside over their deliberations.

The separation of the legislative from the executive functions was attended with most beneficial results. The country under this system made rapid progress in literature and philosophy as well as in the useful arts of life. This result was achieved at a time when the greater portion of the world was buried in darkness. India thus became the seat of the earliest civilization.

The efficient administration of the country, produced accumulation of national wealth, this led to leisure, and leisure to the acquisition of knowledge by other than the privileged classes. The inevitable consequence of the diffusion of knowledge was that the Vedic doctrines and institutions, which had so long marked and moulded the character of the people, were subjected to severe scrutiny. Liberties in thought and speech were assumed in broad day light which would have scandalized the Rishis of the Muntras and the Hotris of the Somayagna. Men began to entertain serious doubts as to the Vedas being inspired guides and summoned them before the bar of Reason. Agitated by conflicting views on moral and religious questions, they drifted into scepticism, and scepticism, which has been justly described as the parent of all scientific knowledge, landed them in philosophy, the growth of a mature and not infantile state of society. As the development of Hindu philosophy is intimately connected with the development of Hindu religion, the history of the latter cannot be well understood without especial reference to the former.

The Naya Darsun, evidently written during this transition state, plainly indicated the new direction which Hindu thought had taken. It was the first fruit of the emancipation of the Hindu intellect from the dogmata of the Vedic verses. It was soon followed by the Sankhya which intensified the agitation against the ancient creed. Both these Darsuns while professing to uphold the Vedas (in the same manner that Strauss and Renan, Parker and Goldstucker uphold the Bible) inculcate doctrines subversive of their fundamental tenets. They reject the ritual of the Vedas and maintain that true religion consists not in the performance of unmeaning ceremonies, but in the attainment of a knowledge of the nature and attributes of the Creator through the creation. They gave the first impulse to the free-thinkers of India, and led to an open renunciation of the Vedic way of interpreting nature.

The Nyaya aims at *Nishreyas* or final beatitude and excellence, to be attained through a through knowledge of the principles which it teaches. It enumerates sixteen topics, among which *Pramana* or evidence, and that which is to be proved, are the principal, and the rest are subsidiary and calculated to elicit the truth.

The Nyaya was supplemented by the Vaisesika, developing the atomic theory enunciated by the former. Kanada accounts for the origin of the world by the combination of atoms in the same manner as Epicurus. He maintains the eternity of atoms and even considers soul as a substance and the substratum of qualities. *Dharma* and *Adharma*, or virtue and vice, are the qualities of the soul. They are respectively the result of performing what is enjoined or what is forbidden in the Shastras. Virtue is the peculiar cause of pleasure and vice of pain—a doctrine which foreshadows the Benthamite principle of the former, being the maximization of pleasures and the minimization of pain, and *vice versa*.

Sankhya, usually signifying numeral, must be here understood as reasoning or deliberation. The system has therefore been characterised as the discovery of soul by means of right discrimination. It aims like the Vedas at the attainment of *Mukti* or eternal beatitude consisting of a freedom from all ills. Its grand object is exemption from metempsychosis, but unlike the Vedas it insists that true knowledge alone can secure 'entire and perfect deliverance from evil.' 'It declares that temporal means for exciting pleasure or relieving mental or bodily suffering are insufficient to that end, and the spiritual resources of practical religion are imperfect, since sacrifice, the most efficacious of observances, is attended with the slaughter of animals and consequently is not innocent and pure, and the

'heavenly meed of pious acts is transitory.' The cardinal doctrine of Sankhya, that beatitude can only be attained by acquisition of perfect knowledge, strikes at the root of the Vedic doctrine of the attainment of celestial bliss by celebration of sacrifices. According to Kapila, the reputed author of Sankhya, and his followers, 'absolute prevention of all sorts of pain is 'the highest purpose of the soul.' The evils here indicated emanate from the internal and the external world, and also from the divine causes. The first is either physical or mental disease of various kinds, or the passions when unregulated by knowledge.

Auxiliary to the system of Kapila is that of Patanjala. It is usually denominated *Yoga Shastra*, and is divided into four chapters or *pada*, namely, on contemplation, on the means of attaining it, on the exercise of transcendent power, and on abstraction or spiritual insulation.

The tenets of these two schools of Sankhya are identical, except on a most important point, namely, the proof of the existence of a Supreme Being. While Patanjala recognises God, Kapila recognises only beings superior to men, but like them liable to metempsychosis. Hence the system of the former is called *Seshewara* Sankhya, and that of the latter *Nirishwara* Sankhya. According to the *Yoga Shastra*, 'Ishwara, the supreme ruler, is a soul or spirit distinct from other souls; unaffected by the ills with which they are beset, unconcerned with good or bad deeds, and their consequences, and with fancies or passing thoughts. In Him is the utmost omniscience. He is the instructor of the earliest beings that have a beginning (the deities of mythologies); Himself infinite, unlimited by time.' But the Sankhya denies the existence of a supreme ruler of the world, maintaining that there is no proof of it.

In this state of excitement and change Sakya Muni appeared as a religious reformer. Of royal parentage, he had been nursed in the lap of luxury; but convinced of the vanity of worldly grandeur and sensual pleasures, he renounced the world and embraced the life of an ascetic. Having been trained in the Brahmanical creed, he first preached its doctrines, but he soon developed a form of faith antagonistic to it. That form was Buddhism, which soon rose up by the side of Hinduism and attained such gigantic proportions as to overshadow its ancient rival. It denied the inspiration of the Vedas and denounced caste as a monstrous evil. It was popular in its form and addressed itself to all classes. It was an outburst of religious enthusiasm which carried every thing along with it in its irresistible course. This revolution

was accelerated by the love of proselytizing, which stimulated the followers of the new creed. It was remarkable for its peacefulness and disinterestedness. It spread like wild fire. Based on the doctrine of the Unity of God, and a future state of rewards and punishments, Buddhism pointed out as its end *Nirvāna* or the attainment of perfection in the absorption of the soul into the essence of the divinity. It makes salvation dependent not upon the utterance of Mantras or performance of ceremonies, but on the practice of active virtues, of temperance and prudence, humility and self-denial.

This pure and elevated code of morality addressed itself to the best feelings of the Hindus and soon enlisted them on behalf of the creed inculcating it. It is therefore small wonder that Buddhism, originating in Central India, soon traversed the length and breadth of the continent. It penetrated into Bengal as far as the mouth of the Ganges, and extended to the uttermost limits of China and Ceylon.

It was at Buddha Gya that the founder of Buddhism rested under a peepul tree, and devoted six years to profound meditation on the mysteries of God, of life, and of nature. It was here that he is said to have successfully battled with Māra (the genius of sensualism, and the Satan of Buddhism) and accomplished the law.

Buddha Gya was considered as the holiest place on the earth, and was studded with temples and monasteries, which were resorted to by hosts of pilgrims.

In the third century before Christ Buddhism became the State religion. King Asoka was a zealous follower of its doctrines and sent Missionaries to Ceylon to propagate them. Fa Hian saw A. D. 400 to 412 numerous works of Buddhist art. He also found the kingdoms and principalities into which India was divided professing Buddhism.

While Buddhism was working its way silently and cautiously it was noticed but little; but when it conflicted with Brahminism, it became the subject of a violent attack and persecution. This accounts for the toleration and even favourable consideration it first met with from the Brahmins. Though its founder rejected the doctrines of the Vedas, yet he was elevated to the Hindoo pantheon and worshipped as an *avatar* or incarnation of the deity. But when the two religious parties were brought into collision, and it was found necessary to make a reference to cardinal principles, it could not be long before the Brahmins learned in the lore of their country, would seek to assail the Buddhists. They found their mouthpiece in *Jaimini*, who imposed on himself the task of reviving and vindicating the

authority of the Vedas. The object of his *Purva* or prior *Mimansa* is the interpretation of the original scriptures which, the Aryans had brought with them to the holy land of *Aryavata*. Its purpose as observed by one of his annotators is 'to determine the sense of revelation.' It is called practical or *Karma Mimansa* as contradistinguished from the theological or the *Brahma Mimansa*. It is not like the *Nyaya* or *Sankhya*, a system of philosophy, but teaches only duty. But unfortunately the duties propounded by Jaimini are not the religious or the moral or the social duties we owe to our Maker, our fellow-beings and ourselves; but they imply the performances of the sacrifices and other rites enjoined by the *Vedas*. He premises, 'now then the study of duty is to be commenced. Duty is a purpose which is inculcated by a command. Its reason must be enjoined.'

The *Mimansa* maintains the eternity of the Vedas and endeavours to prove its divine origin by arguing that no human author is remembered—an argument which is of little validity, inasmuch as any other work of human brain or human hands of which the origin and preparation could not be testified to by contemporaneous authorities might with equal reason be considered as coeval with creation.

Kumarila Bhatta zealously and successfully carried out the work commenced by Jaimini. He not only expounded the *Purva Mimansa* and upheld the authority of the Vedas, but practically accomplished the object for which the former work had been put forth. He proved the most determined and formidable antagonist to the Buddhists. He showed them no mercy, and gave them no quarter, but waged an exterminating crusade against them.

Vyasa, the reputed compiler of the Vedas, came forward with the *Uttara Mimansa* or the *Vedanta*, reproducing and illustrating the monotheistic doctrines of the *Upanishads*.

The *Vedanta* literally signifies the conclusion of the Vedas and, coupled with the *Purva Mimansa*, constitutes a complete system of an interpretation of the Vedic precepts and ordinances. Like the *Purva* the *Uttara Mimansa* opens by declaring its object. 'Next therefore the enquiry is concerning God.' The existence of a Supreme Being, the Creator and Director of the universe is the distinctive and all-pervading idea, developed in the *Vedanta*. '(He is that) whence are the birth and continuance and dissolution of (this world). (He is) the source of (revelation or) holy writ.' God is described as the omnipotent, omniscient, sentient cause of the universe. He is *Anandamaya* or essentially happy. 'He is the etherial element from which all things proceed, and to which all return.'

'He is the *prana* or breath in which all things merge, into which they all rise.' 'He is the *jotish* or light which shines in heaven and in all places, high and low, everywhere throughout the world and within the human person.'

The Vedanta not only inculcates the existence of God, but also his unity. It declares that God is one and without a second, and also that God alone is entitled to worship. Again; 'it is found in the Vedas that none but the Supreme Being is to be worshipped, nothing excepting him should be adored by a wise man.'

It also teaches the immutability and spirituality of God. God is never material. He is therefore described in the Vedas, as being without any of the qualities appertaining to created being. The Vedas describe the Deity as being only spirit. The *Smriti Brahmana* declares him 'not separate from the embodied soul. He is soul, and the soul is he.'

'As milk changes to curd, and water to ice, so is *Brahma* variously transformed and diversified without aid of tools or exterior means of any sort. In like manner the spider spins his web out of his own substance, spirits assume various shapes; cranes (*valaca*) propagate without the male, and the lotus proceeds from pond to pond without organ of locomotion. That *Brahma* is entire, without parts, is no objection; he is not wholly transformed into worldly appearances. Various changes are presented to the same dreaming soul. Divers illusory shapes and disguises are assumed by the same spirit.'

The soul is an emanation from the Deity. It is 'a portion of the supreme ruler as a spark of fire. The relation is not that of master and servant, ruler and ruled, but as that of whole and part.' The soul is also compared to the waves of the ocean, and the soul of nature to the ocean itself.

Individual souls are also likened to so many reflections of the sun exhibited by vessels filled with water. This identity of the human soul with the divine spirit has been often misconstrued into Pantheism. What the Vedant means to teach is that the Deity pervades and animates all bodies. 'He framed bodies, biped and quadruped, and becoming a bird, he passed into those bodies, filling them as their informing spirit.'

Again, the Vedant distinctly declares that 'nature is not the creator of the world, not being represented so by the Vedas, for they expressly say, God has by his sight created the universe. Nature is an insensible being, she is void of sight or intention, and consequently unable to create the regular world.' The universe is not *Brahma*, but 'it springs from him, merges in him, breathes in him.'

In the following instance delivered by Angiras to Mahasala, it is not nature nor an embodied soul, but the Supreme Being who is the invisible (*adrisya*) and incomprehensible author of all created being. 'Him invisible, the wise contemplate as 'the source (or cause) of being; as the spider puts forth and 'draws in his thread, as plants spring from the earth and return 'to it, as the hair of the head and body from the living man, 'so does the universe come of the unalterable.' This does not show that the Vedanta system approaches to a confusion of the Creator and the created, or speak at all as if there were any matter co-existent with Him from eternity.

To return to Buddhism, which, itself a schism from Brahmanism, underwent several organic changes after the death of its illustrious founder; it degenerated in some quarters into blind asceticism, whilst in others it sank into downright atheism. The truth is that the standard of moral excellence prescribed in the *Tripitthaka* or Buddhist scriptures, was too elevated for poor weak humanity. The self-abnegation it enforced few could practise. The spirit was willing, but the flesh was weak. The tests for attainment of *Nirvan* were too severe. They consisted in the 'most perfect faith, most perfect virtue, and most perfect 'knowledge.' It was not enough for the Buddhists to profess a speculative belief in the *Buddha Dhurma* and *Sangha*, equivalent to the God, the law, and the prophets of the Bible. It was only by retiring from the world and contemplating God in the solitude of the cloisters, by exercising abstinence and chastity, and undergoing penances, that *Nirvan* could be attained. These conditions implied the necessity of enlisting in the church and receiving the tonsure. The consequence was that the number of clergy became immense. The accumulation of priests led as might be expected, to gross abuses and brought the creed into disrepute. Many of them, though professing to lead austere lives, fell off in practice from the rigorous system enjoined and merged into the laity. Hwan Tshang, the Chinese traveller, found them in this state at Patna in the sixth century, and describes them as 'living with the heretics 'and no better than they.'

Again Buddhism addressed itself more to the head than to the heart, it appealed more to the intellect than to the feelings. It in fact glorified and even deified the intellect; denominating the Deity as Supreme intelligence. But its actual tendency was to dwarf the intellect and cramp the understanding. While Hinduism produced a galaxy of metaphysicians and philosophers, theologians and moralists, Buddhism favoured the growth neither of literature nor philosophy.

Buddhism branched off into numerous sects; one of which, the Nikiantho or heterodox ecclesiastics, were predestinarians, and maintained that virtues and vices, moral good and evil resulted from destiny, and everything being pre-ordained, the practice of the doctrine could not save any one from his fate. Their motto was 'what is written must be accomplished.' There was another sect who believed in a first principle, and its appearance in the form of an egg, which divided into two parts developed into the sky and earth. A third class did not admit of a First Cause, but asserted that every thing was fortuitous. One sect believed in space as the principle of things, while another maintained Vayu or ether to be that principle. It was considered meritorious by several sects to undergo severe penance, such as subjecting themselves to hunger and thirst, plunging into cold streams, having the body cauterised, living on herbs, and residing in Shashá-nas or burning-places. This diversity of sentiments produced great disorders and impaired the veneration of the people for the creed and its professors.

In this stage of scepticism and corruption, Hinduism, having revived in the form of Shaivism, struck a mortal blow at Buddhism.

While Buddhism was decaying, the religion which had been brought by the Brahmuns from without had undergone great changes. The old gods of the Vedas had been superseded by the new gods of the Purans. Agni and Indra had been replaced by Shiva and Krishna. The worship of the *tri-múrtti* had been substituted for that of the unpersonified elements. Káma had been dethroned by Shakti; the celebration of the Basanta or the vernal season festival had been changed into that of Dole Jatra. The introduction of new divinities had led to the formation of new sects, each professing the exclusive adoration and maintaining the unapproachable superiority of its own *devatá*. Being enlisted in the side of different and (as they supposed) antagonistic divinities, they cherished feelings of animosity towards each other. While the *Bhagavat* asserts that those who profess the worship of *Bhava* (*Shiva*) and those who follow their doctrines are heretics and enemies of the sacred Shastras; the Pudma Purana declares—'even looking at Vishnu, the wrath of Shiva is kindled, and from his wrath we fall assuredly into a horrible hell, let not therefore the name of Vishnu even be pronounced.' Idolatry thus begat bigotry, and bigotry hostility; while in the heat and turmoil of these sectarian conflicts the simple and innocent Vedic worship was forgotten.

The Shaivas and Vaishnavas constitute the principal sects. The Shaiva faith was inaugurated at Benares—the Oxford of

India—by Paramátmá Kalanola, who assumed the distinctive marks peculiar to it. The Vaishnava worship was instituted at Kanchi by Lakshmana Acharya. It is a modified worship of Vishnu in the character of Krishna. The Shaivas are sub-divided into numerous sub-sects, of whom the Shaivas proper wore the impression of the Linga on both arms, the Bhaktas on the forehead; while the Trisula or trident stamped on the forehead was the distinctive mark of the Rudras; these sub-sects subsequently merged into the Shaivas. Their doctrines are embodied in the Shivagita.

How far the worship of the Linga is authorized by the Hindu Scriptures is difficult to determine. Whether the Rudra of the Vedas is identical with the Shiva of the Puranas is more than doubtful; but the transcendental superiority and exclusive worship of Shiva in the form of the Phallus is inculcated in several of the Puranas. There is no doubt that it is the most ancient object of adoration of the post-Vedic era. It became the most prevalent and popular form of worship during the decadence of Buddhism. Menu invokes Shiva as Swayambhú and the chief of divinities.

The great majority of the Vedantics whilst practising the rites enjoined by their scriptures accepted Shiva as their Ishtadeva or tutelary divinity; and judging by the number of shrines dedicated to him in ancient times at Salset, Elephanta, and Ellora, and the veneration they excited, his worship must have extended far and wide.

A new impetus was given to Shaivism by Shankaracharya, who flourished in the eighth century, and who in fact remodelled the whole system of Hinduism. He commenced his labours as a religious reformer in Malabar, the place of his birth; but he was a great traveller, and roamed from place to place, invading the strongholds of Buddhism and other heterodox creeds and carrying them by storm. Shankara was not only a controversialist but a commentator and philosopher. What he contended for by word of mouth, he maintained by his writings. What he preached, he supported by the authority of the Vedas. His commentaries on the Sûtras of Vyasa and the Bhagavatgita contributed in no small degree to increase and perpetuate the influence exercised by him in person. They also did much to revive the veneration of the Hindus for their Scriptures.

Shankara was gifted with a happy diction. Whether he spoke or wrote, whether he thundered against heterodoxy or expounded the Vaidic doctrines, there seemed to flow from him the very words which were most suitable. He possessed the faculty of drawing men along with him. He was

eminently persuasive, and his arguments had strength to bring men to his new doctrines. His was a masculine mind, which by its mere impact conquered all opposition. He largely mixes with the history of Hinduism. His pen and tongue were real engines of power, and influenced important events in its annals.

The system he taught was substantially the Vedantic system ; to which his followers the Dandis subsequently superadded the doctrines of Pátanjali in reference to *yoga* ; but Shankara was not an uncompromising reformer. While he himself believed in 'a Sole Cause and Supreme Ruler of the universe' and proclaimed to his chosen disciples the doctrine of the unity of God, he considered the worship of Shiva and Vishnu as not incompatible with such doctrines. He permitted, nay inculcated, the worship of images to those whose limited understandings rendered them incapable of comprehending and adoring the Invisible Supreme Being. That Shankara himself was a theist, admits not of a moment's question, as one of his last sayings was 'O Lord, pardon me the three sins committed by me—I have, 'by contemplation clothed thee, with a shape, who art shapeless ; 'I have, in praise, described thee who art indescribable, and 'I have ignored thine Omnipresence by visiting the Tirthas.' Educated as he was in a mystical and elaborate system of Hinduism, we cannot wonder at his toleration of idolatry. To overturn that system, would have probably been too much for him. Remodel it he might. In moulding and fashioning it, therefore, according to his own ideas, he accomplished the good he sought to effect and stamped the tenets he promulgated with the notes of antiquity and sanctity. The account of his labours contained in the *Shankara Vijaya*, written by his spiritual disciple Ananda Giri, displays a philanthropy not often met with in this cold and calculating age. He devoted his energies, his learning, his life, to the promulgation of what he believed to be the truth and to the extermination of what he believed to be error.

The successful polemical warfare which the Shaivas waged with the Buddhists culminated in a sanguinary strife resulting in the expulsion of the latter. They, for the most part, emigrated to more congenial climes, and those that remained became absorbed into Hinduism.

The Rámáyana and Mahábhārata—the two great epic poems of the Hindus—speak of this religious contest. The very existence of those works show the cessation of Buddhism at a very early date, and the consequent revival of the moral, social, and political influence of Hinduism.

But the Shaivas after having overthrown Buddhism, were nearly

overthrown by the Vaishnavas. Hinduism having triumphed over foreign foes, and regained its ascendancy, was impaired by internal divisions. The Vaishnavas invaded Benares, the head-quarters of Shaivism and demolished the temple of Visheshwara. So violent became the dispute between these two rival sects, that the King of Chola, viz. Ranganata Krimikonda Chola, being a Shaiva, issued an edict commanding all the Brahmanas in his Raj to sign an Ekrár, acknowledging the unlimited and exclusive supremacy of Shiva. He tempted some and coerced others into acquiescence. But Rámáunjee was neither to be bribed nor to be terrified. He was a devout worshipper of Vishnu. He had been brought up in that faith, and had written treatises in support of its doctrines. He was a travelled man and accustomed to polemical warfare. He had visited several parts of India and carried on successful controversies with the followers of Shaivism and other creeds. He had even dispossessed Shaivas of several Mandirs or shrines and pressed them into the service of Vishnu.

Now this veteran Vaishnava refused point blank to acknowledge the supremacy of Shiva. The wrath of the king knew no bounds. He gave orders to seize and throw him into a dungeon. But Rámáunjee escaped the persecution, and took refuge in Mysore, whither his fame had already preceded him. The Raja Velata Roy accorded him a warm reception, listened patiently to the doctrines of the refugee, and became a convert, assuming the title of Vishnubardhana.

Rámáunjee resided twelve years in Mysore; but on the death of Krimikonda he returned to Chola. He inculcated the worship of Vishnu and his consort Lakshmi, and their incarnations Rama and Sita, Krishna and Rukini. He taught that Vishnu was Brahma and the Great First Cause. He denied the Vedantic doctrine—that the Deity is without form or quality, and maintained that he was endowed with all good qualities and possessed a two-fold form; Paramata, the supreme spirit, and the gross one—the effect, the universe or matter. Rámáunjee founded seven hundred *mutts* or monasteries, and established seventeen Gocroships amongst his disciples. He died as the head of the most ancient and respectable sect of Vaishnavas by name *Sri Sampradya*, with the rise of which originated the custom of erecting *Thakurgurus* in the upper stories of private dwelling houses, and setting up there the Shalagram stones, and stone and metal images of Krishna and Radha.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century Ramanund, a member of the Rámáunjee or Srisampradya sect, seceded from

it, and founded another sect called after his name. The cause of his secession was an indignity to which he had been subjected by his brethren. He had travelled in various parts of India and been brought into familiar contact with different castes. When he returned to the *Mat* or residence of his Gooroo, his fellow-sectarians declared their conviction that, as in the course of his travels he must have partaken of food with other people, and thereby violated one of the fundamental tenets of their creed, he had become a *mlecha*, and must be therefore excommunicated. Deeply wounded by this social ostracism, he retired from the *Sampradya* and founded a sect of his own at Benares. This fact shows how moral and religious reforms are sometimes owing to the individual unhappiness, regret, and disappointments of this man or the other, what battles are waged with superstition, victories won over prejudice, elevated thoughts given utterance to in stirring words, and work of every sort performed, by the pang of sorrow, the sense of unmerited disgrace, and the sickness of disappointment. The principles of Ramanund were more liberal than those of Rámáunjee. He declared his mission was to emancipate his followers from the shackles of caste. In special reference to it he gave his followers the denomination of an *Avadhada* or *emancipated*. The Ramanundees accordingly observe no particular restriction regarding eating and drinking, and the clergy and even many lay members of the sects eat and drink together without regard to tribe and caste.

The Buddhists were the first to ignore the distinctions of castes and proclaim the equality of all men. Ramanund revived the anti-caste movement which had died out, and maintained that the restraints of regimen and ablution were no part of true religion.

Rámáunjee had preached for Brahmins and written for Brahmins. Ramanund addressed himself to men of all castes and invited them to enter his fold. He taught there was no difference between Bhagwan and Bhukta, the deity and his devout worshipper. He explained that as Bhagwan had appeared as a *Muthoo Avatar* and a *Barohow Avatar*, so the Bhukta may be born a Chamar or a Moochee. We accordingly find among his celebrated spiritual disciples Kubeer the Weaver, Raeda the Chamar, Dhona the Jat, and Sena the Barber. These tenets are a vigorous encroachment on orthodox Hinduism, and it is not to be wondered at that the expositions of his system by his followers should be written not in the Sanskrit, intelligible to the learned few, but in the provincial vernacular, level to the understanding of the many.

The Ramanundeas can boast of several powerful writers; such as Toolsheedass, Joydeva, and Nabhagi, the author of *Bhaktamalla* and a *Dome* by caste. The stanzas of Toolsheedass are very telling and have exercised a more powerful influence on the Hindoo mind than many a pretentious Sanskrit work. The mellifluous style of Gita Govind shows Joydeva to be a writer of more than ordinary powers. The *Bhaktamalla* contains an elaborate exposition of the doctrines of the Ramanundeas.

The reform inaugurated by Ramanund received fresh impulse from Kubeer his most celebrated disciple. Kubeer had passed his life under the guidance of Ramanund. To have been in the close presence of that remarkable man, to have toiled at the same *Shamaj*, and to have engaged in religious labours under his auspices; all this had enabled him to earn a wealth of experience by which he well knew how to benefit. With a moral courage rarely to be met with among Hindoo Reformers, he denounced the whole system of Hindoo idolatry. He repudiated the doctrines of the *Shastras* and set Brahmanical authority at naught. He assailed not only the creed of his countrymen, but the Koran of his conquerors. His preachings and writings were addressed not only to the Hindoos but Mahomedans, and produced electric effect. He exposed with merciless but impartial severity the pretensions of the Brahmins and the Mollahs. He spoke with luminous force, and produced a profound impression. He had a large following. His disciples loved him as a father while living, and fenced him round with divine honours when dead. Kubeer is supposed to be an incarnate deity. He was born of a virgin and drowned in a tank; he was found floating (like another Moses) by Nema, the wife of a Tantee or weaver, who took up and nursed the child.

The Kubeer Punthees, or the followers of Kubeer, do not profess to pay exclusive adoration to any divinity, or to observe the superstitious rites and usages prevalent around them. The lay members of the fraternity conform only outwardly to some of those rites, but the clergy abstain from them and pay their homage to the invisible Kubeer. They use no mantras, but chant hymns in praise of the object of their worship. They believe in one God, the creator of the world, but unlike the Vedantist they clothe him with a form. They maintain that this shape is composed of five elements of matter, and that his mental attributes are omnipotence and perfect purity. Their moral code enjoins humanity and truth as the cardinal virtues.

The following extract from *Vijick*, the text book of the Kubeer Punthees, shows the theistical and anti-ascetical character of their doctrine:—

'To Ali and Rama we owe our existence, and should, therefore, show similar tenderness to all that live : of what avail is it to shave your head, prostrate yourself on the ground, or immerse your body in the stream, whilst you shed blood, you call yourself pure, and boast of virtues that you never display : of what benefit is cleaning your mouth, counting your beads, performing ablution, and bowing yourself in temples, when, whilst you mutter your prayers, or journey to *Mecca* and *Medina*, deceitfulness is in your heart. The Hindu fasts every eleventh day, the Mussulman during the Ramazan. Who formed the remaining months and days, that you should venerate but one ? If the Creator dwell in tabernacles, whose residence is the universe ? Who has beheld *Rama* seated amongst images, or found him at the shrine to which the pilgrim has directed his steps ? The city of *Hari* is to the east ; that of *Ali* to the west ; but explore your own heart, for there are both *Rama* and *Karim*. Who talks of the lies of the *Veds* and *Tefs* ? those who understand not their essence. Behold but one in all things, it is the second that leads you astray. Every man and woman that has ever been born is of the same nature with yourself. *He*, whose is the world, and whose are the children of *Ali* and *Rama*, he is my *Guru*, he is my *Pir*.'

Kubeer-Punthism was very widely diffused. Its direct and indirect effects were very powerful. It gave rise to the Punjabeæ faith, of which the founder Nanuck borrowed the doctrines of Kubeer and adopted them as the substratum of his teaching.

The spirit of innovation was at last caught in Bengal. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there rose at Nuddeah—the Benares of lower India—a Brahmin to preach a new doctrine. That doctrine was the efficacy of *Bhakti* or faith as contra-distinguished from works. It was an innovation on the Vedic system which inculcates specific religious duties, the performance of ceremonies and practice of acts of self-denial, but the fervent and absorbing devotion of Krishna dispensed according to Chaitana with the necessity of all duties, ceremonies, and acts. This Bengalee reformer taught that all men are capable of participating in the sentiments of faith and devotion, and that the members of all *Jats* or castes become pure by such sentiments. He maintained the pre-eminence of faith over caste. The mercy of God was boundless and not circumscribed by the restrictions of tribe and family. He declares that 'Krishna was Paramattra or the Supreme Spirit prior to all world, and both the cause and substance of creation : in his capacity of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, he is Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, and in the endless visions of his substance or energy he is all that ever was

‘or ever will be: besides these manifestations of himself he has for various purposes assumed specific shapes as Avataras or descents.’

He preached that ‘the *Chandala*, whose impurity is consumed by the chastening fire of holy faith, is to be revered by the wise, and not the unfeeling expounder of the *Veda*.’ Again, ‘The teacher of the four Vedas is not my disciple. The faithful *Chandala* enjoys my friendship, to him be given and from him be received; let him be revered even as I am revered.’ Throughout his career he taught, what another and a far greater religious Reformer had taught, that ‘not that which goeth into the mouth, defileth a man, but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man.’ The text-book from which he delivered his precepts and which in fact moulded his destiny was the *Sreemut Bhagbut*. It was his Bible; but he interpreted it differently from the bulk of Vaishnavics. He viewed the flirtations of *Krishna* with the *Gopceenees* in a Platonic light, and in fact founded his doctrine of *Bhakti* on them. The god of Chaitanya was nominally the sable *Krishna* of Brindaban, but really a higher being than that confirmed sensualist.

The union of *Krishna* with *Radha* was in his eyes like the mystical union of Christ with the church. The relation between man and God is compared to the relation between husband and wife, the carnal element being subtracted and ignored. ‘There are five stages of faith. The first and lowest is simply contemplative, like that of the Rishis Sanaka and Yogendra. The second is *servile*, like that of men generally. The third is *friendly*, like the feeling with which Sreedama and the Papavas regarded *Krishna*. The fourth is *maternal, paternal or filial*, like that of Yashoda, Devaki, &c. The fifth and highest is *amorous* or loving, like that of *Radha*.’

The reformatory efforts of Chaitanya were at first directed against the worship of Sakti and its concomitant ceremonies as inculcated in the *Tantras*. They were, so to speak, a reaction against this degenerate and abominable creed, which had culminated in the worst form of libertinism. The orgies celebrated under its cloak were worse than *Bachanalian*. These *Tantras* purported to have emanated from *Shiva*, but were forged by some clever Pundits of Nuddea.

Vaishnaism was thus arrayed against Bhobauism. Chaitanya commenced his labours by holding meetings of his immediate friends and followers at the house of Sree Bhasha in the evening. In these meetings he used to expound the life and acts of *Krishna* and sing compositions in honour of that divinity. The Tantricks, enraged at this schism, endeavoured to put it

down. One of them, Gopaul Chapaula, sent some Java flowers (*hibiscus coccinea*) and other articles sacred to Bhobanee to the house of Sree Bhasha, while Chaitanya and his friends were assembled there. The meeting ordered a *mehter* to remove the articles as emblems of impure rites. Gopaul, says the tradition, became a leper on the third day after he had insulted Krishna. He appeared before Chaitanya in his disease-stricken condition and repented of his offence. He was forgiven, renounced his former faith and embraced that of Chaitanya. His new faith made him whole. Chaitanya, having obtained the sympathies and support of a large class of men, now openly declared it was his mission to exterminate the *Tantrick* worship and establish the true Vaishnaism. He preached his doctrines in the streets and villages of Nuddea, and was accompanied by processions of *Kirtunwallahs*. While one of these processions was perambulating the bazaars and *lâts*, a band of *Tantricks*, headed by *Jogai* and *Madhai*, attacked and dispersed it. But *Jogai* and *Madhai* were soon struck with remorse, and from having been bitter enemies became devoted followers of Chaitanya.

In 1509 Chaitanya or Nemye as he was then called, formally renounced the world and embraced the life of an ascetic. Though of a very affectionate nature and devotedly attached to his mother, he did not hesitate to respond to the voice of his conscience which called him away from home and all that was dear and near to him. As a *sunnyasi* he shook off the obligations of society and was resolved that his energies, his time, his life, should be devoted to the fulfilment of his mission. He spent the next six years in making several pilgrimages to Brindaban and Pooree, the respective head-quarters of Krishna and Juggarnath. In the course of his perigrination he disseminated his doctrines and made numerous converts. He proceeded to *Gour*, which was then the capital of Bengal, and preached to its citizens as often as possible. He held forth on the virtues of *Hari*; insisting on faith in *Hari* as the one thing needful to salvation, he invited men of all persuasions and castes, Hindoos and Mahomedans, Brahmins and Chandals to enter his fold. On one of these occasions there were among his audience two Mahomedan brothers present, *viz.* Dabir and Kashash, both high functionaries on the staff of Syud Hoosein, the reigning Viceroy. On them the preaching of Chaitanya made a profound impression. At midnight they repaired to his lodgings, declared their deep conviction of the truths of Vaishnaism, and begged to be enlisted in its ranks. Chaitanya welcomed them, granted their prayer and said, Vishnu will save you, henceforth you shall be known to the world under

'the names of Rupa and Sonatun.' In taking these converts from Mahomedanism, Chaitanya evinced a moral courage unparalleled in the annals of Hinduism. Ramanundo and Kubir had taken lowcaste men before him, but they were heresiarchs. Here was a couple of *mhleccas* welcomed to orthodox Vaishnavism. Rupa and Sonatun proved eminent members of the faith they had embraced at great personal sacrifice. Their works, entitled *Nalela Mathura* and *Hari Bhaktivilasa*, are the most esteemed by the Vyragees. Chaitanya also admitted among his followers five Pathans who had encountered him on his way to Brindabun and intended to attack and plunder him, but struck by his sanctity they desisted from carrying out their hostile intentions, and were converted by his arguments.

At the end of his six years' travel, he appointed Adwata Acharya and Nitanundo, superiors of the *Vaishnobhyas* in Bengal, and Rupa and Sonatun as the heads of the Somaj at Brindabun, and he himself settled at Nilchalla, where he remained twelve years, worshipping Juggurnath with all the intensity of his nature. Besides the *Proovos* and superiors above mentioned, the Vaishnavas acknowledge Gosains as their original and chief teachers. Those Gosains are the founders of the families now existing in Bengal and Brindabun, and preying and fattening on the loaves and fishes of their followers.

Among the original Gosains was Vallabha Acharya, who was the founder of a separate order of *Vaishnavas* professing to worship Krishna as the infant Gopala. It numbers among its followers the opulent Mahajuns of Bombay and other places.

The system propounded by Chaitanya is a system of asceticism. It appeals not to the intellectual but to the emotional part of our nature. Knowledge of God is to be attained not through the process of meditation as maintained by the Vedas, or by a process of philosophising on His nature and attributes as taught by the *Darsuns*, but through the exercise of veneration and love and devotion. The heart is all in all in the Code of Chaitanya. He preached among all classes and castes that salvation was possible without a belief in books, and must be attained through *Bhakti*. With the development of this idea the name of Chaitanya must be always associated. His doctrines are an effective protest against the exclusiveness of Hinduism as the dominant and national religion. He maintained the pre-eminence of faith over caste, and taught that the mercy of God regards neither tribe nor family. He scouted like Kubir the distinctions of caste as violations of the laws of God, who intended all men should be equal and entitled to enter this kingdom. In instat-

ing on purity of thought and action he is the counterpart of the ancient Rishis who depended on meditation alone. He regarded God as essentially love, because as Goethe said of a greater reformer, 'love was the essence of his own fair inward being.'

The anti-caste movement thus inaugurated by Chaitanya in Bengal has continued with unabated vigour. It was a natural and fitting extension of the religious education of the Hindus. About sixty years ago Ramsharan Paul of Ghoseparra near Hooghly founded the sect of *Kartavajas*, or worshippers of the Creator. They do not acknowledge the distinctions of caste, especially when engaged in their religious ceremonies. They consist of men and women of all castes who eat together in private twice a year. The following is their *Mun'ra* :—

'Oh! sinless Lord—Oh! great Lord, at thy pleasure I go and return, not a moment am I without thee, I am even with thee; save, Oh! great Lord.'

We have now arrived at a period which was to witness a re-awakening of the national mind from its torpor, not by the isolated and fitful efforts of religious enthusiasts, but by the systematic and well regulated agency of education.

In the year 1815, a few earnest friends, among whom were David Hare and William Adams, met at the garden-house of Rammohun Roy at Manicktolla to discuss the most feasible means of improving and elevating the Hindu mind. David Hare proposed the establishment of a College for imparting a sound and liberal education in English to the Hindu youth; Rammohun Roy, while fully recognising the importance of such an education, contended for some special agency for giving moral and religious instruction to his countrymen. He therefore suggested the establishment of religious meetings for the purpose of teaching the monotheistic tenets of the Vedas and undermining the idolatrous creed of the masses. Both these schemes were carried into effect.

The *Mahabidyalaya*, or great seat of learning as the Hindu College was originally called, was inaugurated in 1816. Fostered by the Government it became a mighty instrument for improving and elevating the Hindus. The first batch of students it produced proved a band of energetic youthful reformers. They had read and reflected, acquired knowledge, accumulated and compared facts, and practised generalization. They had risen above the prejudices of the nursery. They had imbibed new ideas. The truths of history and geography had taught them the falsity of the faith in which they had been brought up. They therefore rose to summon Hinduism at the bar of reason. They knew and felt that what was morally wrong could not be

theologically right. The foundations of the fabric thus opened and examined, and its outworks thus sapped, it seemed to be tottering to its fall.

Such was the state of things in 1830 when Rammohun Roy established the Brahmo Sabha. Gifted with rare powers of application and generalization and animated by a sincere desire to know and proclaim the truth, he had studied the Bible, the Koran, and the Vedas. He had arrived at the conclusion that the Vedas inculcated pure monotheism, and that the idolatry practised by his countrymen was a corruption of the ancient faith. He had publicly renounced that idolatry, and declared his mission to destroy it and to resuscitate the primitive and rational religion of the Vedas. This story was carried to the Boitukhanas of the Baboos and the shops of the moodies, and it was soon known to people in the mofussil. Hindu Calcutta was in a ferment. Each orthodox Hindu who heard of the apostacy of Rammohun Roy, trembled at the thought of the imminent danger it threatened to his religion. His following had been at first very small. But he had persevered with characteristic zeal and single-heartedness. He had translated several of the Upanishads into elegant Bengalee. He had published a Bengala pamphlet in the same language against Hindu idolatry in the name of one of his followers. He had held discussions on religious subjects with erudite Pandits. He had converted to his faith Mr. William Adams and a few other European and Native friends. These friends used to meet at first at the Library of the *Bengal Hurkari* Press on Sundays, when Mr. Adams officiated as minister. But Rammohun Roy now thought that the time was come for establishing a society or association as a present rallying point for his fellow-religionists, and a nucleus of a future grand national church. The Brahmo Somaj was intended by its founder to be a place of meeting open to men of all castes and persuasions. Its object is declared in unmistakeable language in the Trust Deed of the premises in which it was inaugurated, as the following extract from that document will show :—

‘ The said messuage or building, land, tenements, hereditaments, and premises with their appurtenances to be used, occupied, enjoyed, applied, and appropriated as and for a place of public meeting of all sects and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious, and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the eternal, unsearchable, and immutable Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the universe, but not under or by any other name, designation, or title peculiarly used for and

' applied to any particular being or beings by any man or set of men whatsoever, and that no graven image, statue, or sculpture, carving, painting, picture, portrait, or the likeness of any thing, shall be admitted within the said messuage, building, land, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, * * that in conducting the said worship and adoration no object, animate or inanimate, that has been, or is, or shall hereafter become or be recognised as an object of worship by any man or set of men shall be reviled or slightly or contemptuously spoken of or alluded to either in preaching, praying, or in the hymns or other mode of worship that may be delivered or used in the said messuage or building, and that no sermon, preaching, discourse, prayer, or hymn be delivered, made, or used in such worship, but such as have a tendency to the promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue, and the strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds.'

The Brahmo Somaj, like Hinduism itself, has undergone changes. Its history may be divided into two distinct periods. During the first the Vedas constituted the basis of its faith. They were regarded as the revelation—the divine and infallible guide in matters of religion. The monotheistic doctrines inculcated in the Upanishads and the Vedant were the fountain head of Brahmoism. They were expounded every Wednesday evening in the hall of the Sobha. Treatises illustrating them in the popular vernacular were written and circulated.

A year after the establishment of the Sobha, its founder departed for England, where he died in the following year. After the death of Rammohun Roy the proceedings of the Sobha were conducted for eight years according to the forms laid down by him by Ramchunder Vidyabagish. During this period however, the Sobha languished, because the noble zeal which Rammohun Roy had brought to bear on it was wanting. Ramchunder Vidyabagish was a very respectable and erudite Pandit. His scholastic attainments were indeed of a high order. His translations of the Upanishads are models of classical Bengalee, but he was not original, and drew his inspiration from Rammohun Roy, whose intellect and breadth of view he lacked.

In 1839 the cause of the Brahmos acquired fresh impulse from the adhesion of Baboo Debendronauth Tagore. Though cradled in luxury and destined by his father to occupy a high position both as a zemindar and a merchant, he felt that there was that in man which the things of this world could not altogether satisfy, which longed after eternity and after Him who was the author of time and eternity. He accordingly

resolved to follow in the footsteps of Rammohun Roy. On the 6th October 1839 the Tutwabodhiniy Sobha was established in the house of Baboo Dwarkanauth Tagore 'by a select body 'of ten friends,' of whom Baboo Debendronauth was the animating spirit. The avowed object of the Sobha was 'to sustain the labours 'of the late Raja Rammohun Roy by introducing gradually 'among the natives that monotheistical system of divine worship 'which is to be found inculcated in their original sacred writings 'in contradistinction to the multifarious perversions which they 'have undergone in course of time.' The means employed for attaining this object was the establishment of a Press and Periodical as well as of Schools and Patshallas. The Tutwabodhiniy Sobha sent four Pandits to Benares, to be indoctrinated in the Vedas, and thereby enabled to expound them to the Brahmos. The *Patrica* was not set on foot till 1843. As the acknowledged organ of the Sobha the *Tutwabodhiniy Patrica* came out month after month with elaborate expositions of the creed of the Brahmos, and also vindicated it from the attacks of missionaries. These expository and vindictory articles were written in elegant Bengalee, and both the manner and matter of the editor, Baboo Ukhoycoomar Dutt, attracted great attention and ensured for the periodical a wide circulation. Whatever may be the difference of opinion in regard to the *Tutwabodhiniy Patrica* as a theological organ, there can be none as to the valuable services rendered by it to vernacular literature. It has contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the improvement of the Bengalee language. It has fashioned and moulded it, and adapted it as a medium for the expression of noble and elevated ideas. Both in the columns of the *Patrica* and at the meetings of the Brahmos the doctrines preached were those of the Vedas. As late as 1845 the *Patrica* declared that 'the Vedas were the sole 'foundation of their belief,' and that the truths of all other Shasters must be judged of according to their agreement with them. In the following year Baboo Debendronauth Tagore, as president of the Tutwabodhiniy Sobha, thus wrote to the *Englishman*, 'We consider the Vedas and the Vedas alone as the standard of 'our faith.'

Here ends the first period of the history of the Brahmo movement. Before proceeding with the second we desire to make a few remarks in explanation of its Vedantic character and tendency, but we would have it distinctly understood that in what we now say we are not the apologists but the exponents of the Brahmos.

Whether Rammohun Roy believed in the Vedas as revelation is very doubtful. We are inclined to think he was an

eclectic philosopher and a theo-philanthropist. He believed in a Great and Living God and in His power, wisdom, and goodness, and what he believed he found or thought he found in the Vedas. He endeavoured to engraft on them a kind of universal unitarianism. He laboured to destroy the idolatry of the Poorans and to revive the monotheistic doctrines of the Vedas.

The followers of Rammohun Roy, comprising the members of the Brahmo and Tutwabodhini Sobhas, have been reproached with Pantheism and Atheism. They have been denounced as disbelievers in a personal God. Those who prefer this charge declare that the Vedas confound the Creator with the creation, and that the Brahmos by believing according to their so-called scriptures that the universe is of the same substance with God, and the soul is identical with the Supreme Being, evidently exalt the world, and grossly degrade and absolutely sink the divinity in it. But we maintain the contrary. Though fully aware of the weak points of the Vedas and Upanishads, yet we are convinced the system inculcated in them is neither Pantheism nor Materialism. It neither degrades God nor elevates the Universe. Stripped of cosmogonic puerilities which do not affect its fundamental doctrines, it teaches not that there is no personal God, but that the human mind however cultivated is incapable of understanding Him and realising His attributes.

Vedantism does not oppose the Creator to the creation, but makes him the unity, the only substance. Spinozism, which closely resembles Vedantism, has been subjected to a similar charge, and what the author and vindicator of it say is applicable to our point. 'Our happiness and freedom consist in constant and eternal love of God * * * * the more man comprehends the nature of God and loves God, the less he is under the influence of evil passions, and the less he fears death.' Referring to this passage Hegel in his Philosophy of History observes:—'Spinoza demands to this end that man should acquire the true mode of comprehension; he wants him to view every thing *sub specie aeterni*, in absolutely adequate notions, *viz.* in God. Thus Spinozism is Akeismism. There are no morals more elevated than those expounded by Spinoza; for he wants human action to be regulated merely by divine truth.' According to the Vedant 'Brahma is incomprehensible and beyond thought.' The Vedas would faintly describe the overwhelming greatness and all-pervading goodness of God, but that they oppress and bewilder the human intellect. And is it not really so? can the finite understand

the infinite? Can the limited faculties of man grasp what is illimitable and inconceivable? The epithets of *Nirakar* or formless, and *Nirgoon* or void of qualities, predicated by the Vedant of the Supreme Being, do not mean that He is a nonentity, but that human speech is utterly inadequate to a conception and expression of the divine nature. He is 'pure entity, pure thought, and pure felicity,' when defined by a negative. Brahmo is incorporeal, immaterial, invisible, unborn, uncreated, without beginning or end; he is illimitable, inscrutable, inappreciable by the senses, inapprehensible by the understanding, at least until that is freed from the film of mortal blindness; he is devoid of all attributes, or has that only of perfect purity; he is unaffected by emotions; he is perfect tranquillity, and is susceptible, therefore of no interest in the acts of man or the administration of the affairs of the universe. That this description of the deity falls short of the reality and conveys only vague, but far from approximate ideas, is repeatedly acknowledged by the Vedant, for its author declares that the knowledge of the Supreme Being is not within the boundary of comprehension, that what and who he is cannot be explained. It is not therefore not the faults of the Brahmos nor of the Vedas that they have not achieved a moral impossibility. The Vedant describes the Supreme Being not only by negatives, but asserts his positive attributes 'God is a Spirit,' the Supreme Spirit; 'he is knowledge; he is purity, he is happiness; he sees all, he hears all, he moves whithersoever he will, he takes whatsoever he will, although he has neither eyes, nor ears, nor feet, nor hands; he is omniscient, omnipresent, almighty; he is the maker of all things, and the director and governor of the world, not, however, in his own person, but through the instrumentality of agents, whom he has created for the purpose.' It is therefore manifest that the Brahmos during this phase of their faith believed in a personal God and in his attributes. The grand mistake they made was in setting up the Vedas as revelation. This mistake was however confined to their circle. Outside that circle it was recognized as palpable and egregious. In 1843—the same year which witnessed the issue of the *Tutwabodhini Patrika*—a religious Society—was established on a wider basis. The *Hindu Theophilanthropic Society* was inaugurated on the 10th February 1843, by a few friends assembled for the purpose of considering the best means for promoting the moral and religious elevation of their countrymen. In the preface to the discourses read at the meetings of this Society its object is thus enunciated; 'The Society aims at the extermination of Hindu idolatry, and the dissemination of sound and enlightened views of

'the Supreme Being—of the unseen and future world—of truth, of happiness, and final beatitude. It proposes to teach the Hindus to worship God in *spirit* and in *truth*, and to enforce those moral and most sacred duties which they owe to their Maker, to their fellow-beings, and to themselves.' The Society held monthly meetings, at which discourses in English and Bengalee were delivered. The subjects embraced by the discourses related to the nature and attributes of the deity and to general principles in morals and religion. The other means adopted by the Society for the attainment of its object were the preparation and publication of Bengalee tracts on moral and religious subjects and the reprinting of Sanscrit and Bengalee works illustrating the same. The monthly meetings were attended and addressed by earnest and representative men of different classes, such as Dr. Duff, the Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Baboo Ukhoycoomar Dutt, Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose, Baboo Peary Chund Mitter, and the late Baboo Isser Chunder Goopto. The nature and aims of the institution are thus explained at length in the inaugural discourse of the Founder; 'The Society aims at the extermination of Hindu idolatry and the dissemination of sound and elevated views of God, Futurity, Truth, and Happiness. Though it is established for the purpose of promoting moral and religious culture irrespective of any revealed form, and only by the study of the duties and destinies of man as *revealed* by his constitution and of the power, wisdom, and goodness of God as manifested in nature, still its basis is broad and unexceptionable enough to admit the cordial co-operation of every good man, no matter to what creed he may belong. The pious and benevolent of every religion cannot but be deeply interested in its success. At present, its members act according to the light which they possess. If new light breaks in upon them, they must of course be prepared to follow it.

'The existence of God is the first dogma of the Hindu Theophilanthropist, and the immortality of the soul is the second. The dogmas of the Hindu Theophilanthropist are those upon which all sects, Christian, Hindu, Mahomedan, Chinese, are agreed, and the name they have taken expresses the double end of all religionists that of leading, namely, to love towards God and men.'

We return to the Brahma Sabha, which has now arrived at the second period of its history. We have before had occasion to mention of four Pandits being sent to Benares by the *Tatwato-dhiny Sabha* to be thoroughly initiated in the doctrines of the Vedas, in order that they might disseminate them here. The

Pandits most conscientiously fulfilled the first part of their mission. They ransacked the Vedic manuscripts and held discussions with the Vedantists of Benares. The result of these investigations as might reasonably be expected was fatal to the divine origin of the Vedas. They were followed by fresh investigations by Baboo Debendronath Tagore which led to the same result. The conclusion at which the President of the *Sobha* arrived after this honest and searching enquiry into the infallibility of the Vedas was that they were not what they professed to be, and should be renounced as an unerring guide in religious matters. The Brahmos accepted this conclusion and rested their faith on the truths of Natural Religion. Hear how this part of their history is told by their chief preacher, Baboo Kesub Chunder Sen :—

‘ The return of the Pundits and his, (Debendronath Tagore’s) subsequent investigations with their aid quite convinced him of the errors of the Vedic system. There was a terrible strife—the strife of conscience against associations of mind and place; duty against prepossessions; truth against cherished convictions. But conscience triumphed over all; the Veds were thrown overboard by Baboo Debendronath Tagore; and the Brahmo Somaj bade farewell to Vedantism. Gentlemen, would you call this fluctuation? or would you not rather say, that this indeed is a triumph of conscience, and conscience alone—a victory over error and darkness effected by candid inquiry and a love of truth. Would you tauntingly speak of it as the waverings of an *unprincipled* man? Would you point at it the finger of ridicule? Would you not rather “admire the honesty and sincerity” of the Somaj for *conscientiously* changing its opinion? What is there to laugh at in this plain truth: the Brahmos at one time believed in the Veds as their infallible, unerring guide in religious matters, and now, having found out their mistake, believe in nothing but the truths of Natural Religion? Gentlemen, I would have satisfied myself with a few passing remarks only on this untenable charge of fluctuation, did I not think it proper to lay bare what the Lecturer would fain wish were permitted to lie underneath the surface;—I mean the motive which brought about the change in the basis of the creed of the Somaj, and the progressive character of that change. Gentlemen, I have shown clearly I hope, that it was conscience that sent the Brahmo Somaj one further step up the hill of progress. Vedantic Brahmoism was a conscientious renunciation of Puranic idolatry, and intuitional Brahmoism a conscientious overthrow of the infallible authority of the Veds. In the

‘ history of the Brahmo Somaj you thus behold Progress and Principle. You will also admit, I hope, from what I have said in regard to the circumstances which brought about the fall of Vedantism, that this change was due more to the closer study of the Veds themselves by Baboo Debendronath Tagore than to the influences of the anti-Christian works of occidental Deists, as has been said ; for though the Veds were no longer regarded as the basis of Brahmoism, and their errors and absurdities were abjured, the good things in the superstructure were retained and continue to this day : and the *Brahma Dharma* book of the present day contains the truths of the Vedanta with natural reason for their basis.’

In regard to the philosophy of intuition the present basis of the Brahmo faith, Baboo Kesub Chunder Sen thus expounds the views of his co-religionists :—

‘ This much I desire to assert, that in some form, under some name, and to some extent, intuition has been admitted to be a fact of consciousness by almost all distinguished thinkers. Different names have been given to it, such as spontaneous reason, practical reason, *à priori* cognitions, common sense, first truths, corresponding with the particular characteristics of intuition specially recognised by the philosophers who gave those names, such as spontaneity, catholicity, originality, &c. But such differences of opinion in regard to name are immaterial so long as the existence of intuition is admitted. Nor would it at all affect the argument to say, that those whose testimonies we cite were Christians, and cannot be supposed to have said anything in support of our religion.’ Again : ‘ The doctrine of common sense is therefore not only the true philosophy but catholic philosophy ; it is not the doctrine of a peculiar sect but the unity of philosophic truths, a code of universal beliefs supported by the testimony of consciousness, * *. To say that our Church rests upon intuition is to say that it rests upon an immoveable rock which the wind of opinion cannot check, the blast of controversy cannot demolish.’

We do not deprecate this organic change in the faith of the Brahmos as an irrational fluctuation, but hail it as an auspicious omen of good things to come. We admire the honesty and sincerity of the *Sobha* ‘ for conscientiously changing its opinion.’ Who shall blame the Brahmos for acting according to the light which they possess ? If new light breaks in upon them, they would we believe be prepared to follow it.

The transition from Vedantism to natural religion took place in 1850 and gave new life to the *Tutwabodhini Sobha*, articles of faith being drawn up, and persons subscribing to them enrolled

among Brahmos. From this period date the organisation of the Brahmo community and their efforts to consummate the social reformation of their country.

In 1860 the Tutwabodhini Sabha was amalgamated with the Brahmo Sabha. By this arrangement the reformatory efforts of the two cognate bodies were concentrated and utilized. The Somaj since this amalgamation has made considerable progress. A new Brahmo School has been established. The system of delivering lectures in English has been inaugurated. Reformed ceremonies on marriage and other important events of social and domestic life have been enjoined. Branch Somajes have been established in several parts of Bengal, in Allahabad, Lahore, Bareilly, Lucknow, and Madras. Their number at present is upwards of forty. The aggregate number of members on the roll of the parent and the branch Somajes is nearly two thousand. The funds of the body are in a healthy condition. The receipts amounted last year to Rupees 9,208, and the disbursements to Rs. 8,900.

It is not our province to discuss the truth or falsity of the doctrines held by the Brahmos. It is only necessary to indicate them. Brahmos recognise no special or book revelation. They hold a record of religious truth revealed by God to man to be a moral impossibility. They fall back for such truth on the book of nature. They believe that the evidence of the existence and attributes of the Deity are written in the material as well as the moral world, and in characters as legible as those of a native tongue. They regard the intuitions of the human mind as the special source of religious knowledge.

Religion is certainly coeval with the human race, and emanates from an eternal and deep-seated principle in us. It is a necessity of human nature, and not the result of an abnormal condition of life. Impressed deeply with the sense of the power and wisdom and goodness of God, the Brahmos believe that human beings are among the instruments with which He operates to work out ends befitting his nature. They deny Original Sin or Depravity, Redemption, Resurrection, and Incarnation. Though they recognise no inspired mediator or saviour, yet they believe that whenever a person with such claims has appeared, his inspiration has been the result of the beneficent impulse communicated by the Great Beneficence in proportion as the lessons He has inculcated have been wise and effective. The holders of Brahmoism believe that the great business of their faith is to rest on the greatness and goodness of God. They also believe that the great first Cause of the universe is a wholly good, just, and beneficent Being, free and

distinct from his works. They believe him to be altogether beautiful, and altogether great, and altogether good. They do not think it possible for finite creatures to form an adequate conception of the infinite, but 'inasmuch as they are 'his handiwork and made after his image, they may feel conscious 'of him in their hearts in the direction at which his infinitude 'borders on humanity.' The doctrines thus evolved from a careful observation of eternal and internal nature constitute a pure and elevated creed according to which the Brahmos believe God 'is our Creator and only Dispenser of salvation.' 'It 'is from Him and Him alone we hope to receive the spiritual 'blessings we stand in need of. To him who is God of love, of 'truth, of salvation, Brahmoism teaches us to pray humbly and 'earnestly.' Prayer is emphatically characterized as the very pedestal on which Brahmoism rests. It 'is a Brahmo's only 'hope; his only guide in the world.' To assist the Brahmos in this duty, 'the Theist's prayer book has been recently published 'containing prayers suited to different times and emergencies.'

The Somaj meets every Wednesday evening for public worship, and the congregation assembled at the well-lighted and well-furnished hall on the Upper Chitpore road, must be an interesting spectacle to all who care for the highest welfare of the Hindus. The liturgy is very simple. The ministers seated on a marble dais read the prayers. Discourses on the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God are then delivered much in the same spirit as the Bridgewater Treatises and Paley's Natural Theology. They are generally well written and well spoken. They avoid debatable grounds and confine themselves to an exposition of the subjects they embrace. Whenever they refer to Christianity, either allusively or directly, they do so not rudely and flippantly, but courteously and reverentially. The service concludes with the singing of hymns composed chiefly by Ram-mohun Roy and Debendronauth Tagore.

Whether Brahmoism is suited to the mass of the people and affords every motive to faith and practice, may well admit of question, but there can be but one opinion that it is an immense stride beyond the prevailing Hinduism. We accept it as a great advance on the popular creed. The Brahmo Somaj now numbers many educated and enlightened natives and has grown into a great power in the Hindu society. Its ranks are recruited by the alumni of our colleges and schools, whose intellectual and moral training has landed them in that position of protest against idolatry, which Brahmoism takes as its foundation.

There are hundreds and even thousands who have ceased to

believe in Shiva and Doorga, Krishna and Radha. In the last Report on Public Instruction Mr. Woodrow mentions the remarkable fact, 'that numerous Hindus feel now so ashamed of the religion of their country as to adopt in large numbers varying forms of Brahmoism, Vedantism, Theism, Pantheism, &c. One student by race a Hindu entered himself as a Universalist. Out of the 1,114 candidates of this year, 104 young Hindus repudiated their ancestral creed, and entered themselves under one or other of the above phases of faith.' This surely is a sign of the times. It disproves the charge preferred against the system of Government education that it takes no account of the spiritual element in man. We emphatically deny that it is calculated to make only secularists. It has brought to those who have come within the range of its influence inestimable moral and religious benefits. It has taught them great truths not only respecting men, their histories, their politics, their inventions, and their discoveries, but respecting God, His attributes and His moral government. It has revealed to them the laws which the Almighty Mechanician has impressed on the world of mind as well as on the world of matter. Let us not be told that the expansion of the mind and thought which is going on around us is not accompanied by an expansion of the heart—the development of the moral and religious feelings? Nothing can be more unfair than to characterize the Government system of education, as it is characterized by certain parties as an irreligious or a non-religious system. No system can be such which leads us through nature up to nature's God. The elements of morality and religion may be conveyed independently, of any system of dogmatic theology. It is impossible to study the great writers of English without being inoculated with the pure moral precepts and the elevated ideas pervading their pages. These must touch the religious instinct in man and awaken his religious sympathies. But of the hundreds who have embraced Brahmoism, how few have evinced moral courage to exterminate social evils which are eating into the vitals of Native society. True, the Somaj in all its stages has denounced idolatry and caste, but we scarcely expected to find that its members with few honourable exceptions are in point of fact wedded to the antiquated customs of their country. It is useless for them to plead that the country is not yet ripe for social reforms; standing as they do on the vantage ground of intellectual superiority, they must be fully aware of the darkness of ignorance and superstition around them, and should undertake the task of pioneers of the national elevation.

The survey that we have taken of Hinduism, though necessarily brief and not traced with chronological precision, will

show that it has not been so immutable as is generally supposed. It does not bear any thing of that unalterable character that is ascribed to it. It has on the contrary undergone like other religions great and organic changes until it presents an aspect radically different from what it originally wore. These changes have been exhibited in the rise and progress of the several sects of which we have endeavoured to give a sketch. Of the primitive system of Vedic faith as embodied in the Rig-Veda, no other trace remains than the *Homayoga* and the purificatory ceremonies performed at the birth, marriage, and cremation. We have seen how prayer and invocation to the elements gave place to the philosophical appreciation of the divine nature. We have also seen how latitude of speculation was checked by *Bhakti*, and how the latter degenerated into a demoralizing worship. We have seen in short how the philosophical labours of the Hindus successively resulted in mysticism and idealism, and scepticism and sensualism, the sole actors, as justly observed by M. Cousin, in that intellectual arena where in all ages and amongst all nations they are in turn in the position of combatants and of sovereigns. But amidst all these mutations several influential sects, both in ancient and modern times, have inculcated pure theism, rising above the atmosphere of bigotry and superstition, and developing new lines of thought. Vyas and Sankaracharya, Ramananda and Kubir, have stood forth in advance of their age, and have left on it a mark which is ineffaceable. The impress they imparted on their times has endured for centuries. The impetus which Rammohun Roy has recently given to the national mind is bearing it onward. Let us devoutly trust that with the spread of education the spirit of enquiry into religious truth will become more universal and ere long better directed. When we consider what was the state of the Hindu mind a few years ago, and contrast it with what we now see, when we remember the once dead level of ignorance and its first breaking up—how the entire national mind was dwarfed by superstition and fettered by prejudices—how it has since begun to throw off those fetters—has risen above Brahminical domination and asserted its independence—we do not despair of the cause of moral and religious reform, but feel there is ample grounds for thankfulness to the Almighty Dispenser of events.

ART. IV.—1. *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sunnuds, relating to India and neighbouring Countries.* Compiled by C. U. Aitchison, B. C. S. Under-Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, 7 vols. Calcutta : 1862—65.

2. *Memorandum on the Records in the Foreign Department.* By J. Talboys Wheeler, Secretary to the Record Commission. Calcutta : 1864.

IT is about a century ago (1768) that the East India Company expressed the utmost concern at finding themselves involved in a Chaos of Treaties and Engagements. All their views and expectations were then confined within, that is, to the eastward of the Curumnassa; they had become perfectly alive to the value of the Bengal Provinces, for the Dewany of which they had in 1764 obtained the Firman of Shah Aulum; and when explaining to their Governors the policy which they wished to be pursued, they announced distinctly that the Dewany of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, with the possessions held in those provinces, were the utmost limits of their aim on that side of India; whilst on the Coast the protection of the Carnatic, and the possession of the Circars free from all engagements to support the Soobah of the Deccan, or even without the Circars, provided British influence could keep the French from settling in them, satisfied their aspirations on the Coromandel Coast. The bounds of their ambition on the Bombay side were the dependencies thereof, the possession of Salsette, Bassein, and the Castle of Surat, the protection of which was easily within the reach of our power since they could mutually support each other without recourse to any alliance whatever with Native States. Exceedingly jealous of the too apparent reluctance to recall the Brigade advanced to Allahabad, they pressed for its immediate withdrawal, and enjoined that when this were done, and there should be a cessation of the heavy works going on in the fortifications at Fort William, the Behar boundary was to be surveyed, and either strong lines or a fort with magazines was to be constructed, so as to afford a secure place for the Brigade on the frontier, and a depôt of stores to enable the troops to take the field at once whenever occasion required.

The occupation of Chunar by a sufficient garrison, if its cession could be obtained, entered into their outline of the general military position which it was held desirable to establish.

Most emphatically however did the Company object to passing these bounds, for fear of being led on from one acquisition to another, till the British power would find no security but in the subjection of the whole, 'which by dividing our forces would lose us the whole, and end in our extirpation from Hindostan.' Not content with this lugubrious prophecy, the Company were specially bent on deterring their Governments in India from entertaining the very dangerous idea that the way to preserve peace was to be the umpires of the balance of power in Hindostan, 'a principle that may involve us in every way from Delhi to Cape Comorin.' On the contrary it was prescribed that 'one invariable maxim ought ever to be maintained, that we are to avoid taking part in the political schemes of any of the Country Princes,'—that they were to be left to settle a balance of power among themselves; that their divisions would leave the British provinces in peace; and that engagements and alliances were as a rule to be studiously avoided. When it is remembered that ten years before, in 1758, the Court had written to their Governor at Fort William,—'We have only to add that if you depend upon ever having a force of two thousand Europeans in Bengal, as has been most strenuously desired, you will be certainly deceived, for if even the present situation of public affairs would admit of such a measure, the employing so great a number of ships as is requisite for so great an embarkation is big with a thousand difficulties too obvious to mention,'—it is not surprising that in 1768, when their Governor at Madras had entered into an alliance with the Soobah of the Deccan and the Mahrattas in order to depress the power of Hyder Ali, pledging Government at the same time to furnish a subsidiary force of 761 Europeans and 5,000 sepoys, besides a payment of nine lakhs of Rupees for the Circars, the Court should have viewed such proceeding with dismay, should have lectured their Governor on the policy into which he was plunging, and should sound a warning note against the Chaos of Treaties and Engagements, the vision of which was looming disagreeably upon their sight. 'Your loving friends,' as the Court styled themselves, had a keen eye to their investments and to their purely mercantile interests, and they foresaw and distinctly enunciated that no success in war could possibly compensate the losses that would arise from the tranquillity of their provinces being disturbed. It must be admitted that there was sound practical wisdom in their analysis of the policy which their Governors were originating; and that in the following extract they evinced a clear perception of the conditions under which, if such a career were embarked upon, the struggle for empire

in India would have to be waged. 'From what appears in your proceedings, we think we discern too great an aptness to confederacies or alliances with the Indian powers, on which occasion we must give it you as a general sentiment that perfidy is too much the characteristic of Indian Princes for us to rely on any security with them; but should you enter into a treaty to act in concert with them in the field, one of our principal officers is to command the whole, a pre-eminence our own security and our superior military skill will entitle us to.'

The prediction that the policy then inaugurating, and to which they demurred, would lead to the extension of our empire from Delhi to Cape Comorin has in the course of a century been fulfilled; and that the part of the prophecy foreboding a calamitous issue to such expansion of dominion failed of its accomplishment in 1857 is due to the fact that during that crisis our trust lay not in our alliances with Native Powers, the most friendly of whom were playing a waiting game, but in the stalwart courage of our British troops. Under Providence it is to a general observance of the principle thus early laid down by those sagacious old merchants that their woe-weighted prediction did not entirely come to pass, and that at the close of a century our rule extends unchallenged from the Himalayah to Cape Comorin. The chief disasters which have chequered that century occurred when the golden principle thus early delivered was departed from; so that both in our reverses and in our successes the maxim of the 'loving friends' has met with confirmation.

In the present day when 80,000 British Troops are quartered in India, the grave admonition that if in Bengal they depended on *ever* having 2,000 European troops, they would certainly be deceived, reads as curiously as does the avowal of perturbation into which the Court were thrown by the Chaos of Treaties and Engagements in 1768. A glance at the volumes published by Mr. Aitchison will show that the business of Indian Treaty-making was then in its infancy, and that it was early in the day to take fright at the activity of our eastern diplomacy. Still, here again the 'loving friends' had good ground for their apprehensions, for at that period the trade of Treaty-making proved so lucrative, that there was a tempting premium on the extension of our political relations with such Native Chiefs or States as could afford to pay; and as men were in those days fully as anxious to return to England as they are now, without being quite as scrupulous as to the means by which this end was to be attained, such passages as the following reveal that the Court had reason to dread that other than purely political causes instigated the proneness to negotiation which they regarded as big

with danger. 'We cannot take a view of your conduct from the commencement of your negotiations for the Sircars, without the strongest disapprobation, and when we see the opulent fortunes, suddenly acquired by our servants, who are returned since that period, it gives but too much weight to the public opinion, that this rage for negotiations, treaties, and alliances has private advantage more for its object than the public good.'

Besides the more sordid class of minds against which these remarks were aimed, the Court had however in their service men of the mould of Clive and Warren Hastings, and minds of their stamp viewed affairs on the spot with a different eye from that of the corporate body in the city. A servant of the Company who could act as set forth in the following extract was not likely to be impeded by an overwhelming fear of responsibility:—

'In 1759 an armament of seven ships from Batavia unexpectedly made its appearance in the mouth of the river. Jaffier Ally had secretly encouraged the Dutch to send this force. Being afraid of the power of the English, he wished to balance that of the Dutch against it, while the latter were eager to share in the wealth which the British had acquired in Bengal. Clive, though sensible of the responsibility he would incur by attacking the forces of a friendly power, was satisfied that if he allowed the Batavian armament to join the garrison at Chinsurah, the Nabob would throw himself into the arms of his new allies, and the English ascendancy in Bengal would be exposed to serious danger. To prevent this, he obtained from the fears of the Nabob a mandate, directing the newly arrived armament to leave the river. Under the authority of this order, and the pretext of enforcing it, Clive caused the Dutch to be attacked both by land and water. They were completely defeated on both, and all their ships were taken. A Convention (No. IV.) was then signed, by which the Dutch agreed to pay indemnification for losses, and the English to restore the ships and property.'

Though this transaction wound up with a Treaty enjoying the sanctimonious heading 'au nom de la Trinité très sainte,' and as became a document opening with so much unction was accompanied by very fine-drawn and equivocal assertions and distinctions on both sides, it must be allowed that whilst the Dutch met their match in their own crooked ways of action, there was an essential antagonism between the qualms of conscience so safely indulged by the gentlemen that sat at home in ease, and the latitude and elasticity of conscience

which, to their servants in conflict with insidious friends and wily foes, black or white, was almost of necessity imposed by the instinct of self-preservation. The sweep and pressure of circumstances was too strong for such feeble barriers as were presented by the well meant attempts of the Court to limit the aims of their Governors to present possessions and lucrative investments. As a consequence, though a very moderate sized octavo volume would in 1768 have contained the whole of our Indian Treaties, seven stout octavo volumes now barely suffice after all possible condensation, to lay before the world the series of political engagements which have marked the growth of our supremacy in the East, and the literal accomplishment of the hardy prophecy of 1768.

Doubtless the Secretary of State and his Council will receive Mr. Aitchison's seven volumes with very different emotions than those with which their predecessors of a century back would have hailed a single volume. Such a compilation has always been a desideratum, and the partial attempts previously made to meet the want have been, though valuable, isolated, and inadequate. No one could say where some treaties were to be found; and for others search was requisite in different and some of them bulky compilations. No one work existed of a convenient and handy form complete in its contents.

It is not however the Government of India alone or its servants which will profit by this remarkable publication, the intrinsic value of which is by no means confined to the facilities of reference which it affords to those whom it more immediately concerns to be conversant with our political relations in the East. It will have a wider sphere of utility, and when once known in England, will be found by members of Parliament a complete and very impartial epitome of the rise and consolidation of our Indian Empire. If treaties and engagements be regarded as in themselves the mere skeleton of the body politic, needing in order to have form and substance, a clothing of flesh and muscle, the introductory notes to each chapter or series will be found invaluable aids to this process of giving shape and substance to the bare frame-work. Though luminous to the well read, they are necessarily severely concise; so much so indeed that although a person conversant with the works devoted to the different epochs of Indian History will be at once conscious of the labour which these prefatory remarks may have cost the author, an ordinary reader might skim them over with a very inadequate conception of the mass of reading which underlies them, and which has been most unsparingly fused down in the process of condensing into the most moderate space consistent

with an indispensable amount of information. The style too is clear, brief, and unpretentious. No marginal references or foot notes act as finger-posts to the long and often weary roads over which the author must have travelled. Such adjuncts, however demonstrative of the labours of the writer, would have overladen the margin with a multiplicity of numbers, dates, and names; and would have injured the simplicity without adding to the official utility of the work—an object of which the author never seems for a moment to have lost sight. Hence too a studious avoidance of comment or discussion on moot points of policy; beyond a virile tone of thought and an incidental observation here and there which is indicative of aversion to the weak and puny policy of trimming times, there is an utter absence of partisanship—a stern impartiality and freedom from bias whether of prejudice or of theory. We are mistaken however if even an ordinary reader would fail to observe the precision with which a long chain of political events is uncoiled without break or hitch, and without sacrifice of perspicuity, to the rigid condensation of matter which was manifestly the self-imposed law under which Mr. Aitchison composed his monograph outlines of the history of our relations with separate states. A second perusal of any of the introductory chapters, and at the same time an occasional dip into the various works dealing with isolated portions of Indian History would soon lead such a reader to enlarge his estimation of the scope and value of these carefully elaborated epitomes, and as he went on with the process he would soon discover, more especially if he compared part with part, that he had the means of tracing not only the existing form assumed by the body politic, but the various stages through which it passed before attaining its present gigantic proportions.

Group for instance the introductory remarks to Part 1, Vol. 1, Bengal, with those headed 'the Carnatic,' Part 2, Vol. 5, a close resemblance will be found in the importance which at one period of our history attached to our relations with those subordinate Chiefs, the Nabobs of Moorshedah and of the Carnatic. Of the two the Soobahdaree of Bengal, from the natural wealth and resources of the Province and from its being the outlet to the sea for the traffic of the great Gangetic plain, was a superior Lieutenancy to the Carnatic, which was only one of the sub-divisions of the great Soobahdaree of the Deccan. But there was this in common to the two Nabobs, that being Lieutenants of the Empire on the seaboard they were early brought into contact with the rival European nations who sought to establish a lucrative trade with

India, and were eager to secure for their commercial factories, privileges, and protection. Hence a prominence was long given to our relations with these Nabobs which was disproportionate to their real position among the magnates of the Mogul Empire. After once our power had struck root on the Coasts of India and safe points of connection with the sea, (the true base of operations for a maritime power like England,) had been made sure, then the transient importance of these Nabobs rapidly faded, and shrunk into insignificance as we came into contact on our Frontiers with the greater and more substantive powers. That there was a just conception of the subordinate position of these Nabobs is proved by the fact that both for the Dewany of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and for the grants made in the Carnatic, Firmauns, or Altumgah Sunnuds were obtained from the Mogul in 1765. Clive, like Warren Hastings, had been bred in the Madras School, where, as Mr. Aitchison remarks, 'the struggle for supremacy hinged upon the contest of 'two rivals for the Nabobship of the Carnatic,' and he applied the same policy to the Dewany of Bengal; and with like results though with a speedier issue as to the fate of Nazim and his family; our author with respect to him observes:—

'Syef ô Dowla was succeeded in 1770 by his brother Mo-barik ô Dowla, with whom a new Engagement (No. XII.) was made. By this engagement the Nabob's stipend was fixed at 31,81,991 Rupees. This is the last Treaty which was formed with the Nabob. The office of Subadar had now become merely a nominal one, all real power having passed into the hands of the Company. In 1772 the stipend was reduced to sixteen lakhs a year, at which rate it is paid to this day.'

He then dismisses them to the inheritance of the shadow of a name to which Warren Hastings doomed them. We find that it was not until thirty years later that the Nabob of the Carnatic became a pensioner stripped of all power. Mr. Aitchison gives a succinct account of the end of this Nabobate, about which, as it has struggled hard to occupy the attention of Parliament and to enlist the sympathies of the British public, our readers may like to refresh their memories. 'On the fall of Seringapatam, a treasonable correspondence was discovered, which had been begun by Mahomed Ali and his son with Tippoo Sultan shortly after the conclusion of the Treaty of 1792. The object of this secret correspondence was most hostile to the interest of the British Government. It had been continued by Omdut-ool-Omrah as late as the year 1796, and was indirect violation of his Treaty obligations. Enquiry was instituted which fully proved the guilt of the Nabob.—The British Government therefore de-

'clared itself released from the obligations of the Treaty of 1792, which had been thus flagrantly violated, and resolved to assume the government of the Carnatic, making a provision for the family of the Nabob. Omdut-nool-Omrah died on the 15th July 1801, before the conclusion of the proposed arrangements.' Out of these transactions originated the final decision of the Government that the title, privileges, and immunities of the family were at an end. We doubt whether the advocacy of Dr. Travers Twiss will be potent enough to reverse a decision which has been some ten years in force, and to be successful in re-establishing an empty pageant, profitable neither to Azeem Jah himself nor to the State. We cannot help thinking Dr. Travers Twiss exceedingly unfortunate in the selection he has made of a martyr, and that he might have chosen far more promising grievances for a Quixotic support.

There can be no doubt that the same end awaits the close of the title of Nabob Nazim of Bengal, which without any exceptional reason in its favour, has so long been permitted to survive its congener, the Nabobate of the Carnatic. The endeavour to maintain a stilted position on the strength of ancestral offices is a pretension which under a Mahomedan rule would long since have collapsed; attendance at the Royal levees in refulgent kinkab, and a discreet use of shawl presents will not long stave off the inevitable oblivion; and it has been due to the ignorance as much as to the pseudo-tenderness of British sentiment that the vitality of such empty phantoms of departed greatness has been somewhat unreasonably protracted. The error was a venial one, though if anything similar had been attempted in behalf of those whose names had been prominent in England's history, ridicule and mockery would have trampled such pretensions to the dust. The time has however arrived when the descendants of the families of the Nabob of the Carnatic, of the Nabob Nazim, of Tippoo, and of the King of Oudh cannot too early realize the necessity of accepting a position in Native Society analogous to that occupied by the noblemen of England with respect to its commoners. They cannot hope for a higher or more honourable one; the framework of society and of our administration does not allow of their holding any other; and it will, when fairly accepted, enable them to train and educate their sons in a manner which would fit them for employment and render them useful instead of useless and isolated members of society. There is small hope of so desirable a change as long as baseless pretensions are nourished.

To return to the subject of our early relations with Native

States, Clive seems to have been carried by his instinct for empire further in practice than he in his outline of the policy to be pursued admitted. Not content with the Imperial Charters for the Dewany and the Carnatic he looked further, and anticipating collision and conflict with the Nizam of the Deccan as imminent, he had the audacious foresight to provide himself with a Sunnud or Firmaun from Shah Aulum, which was thus noticed in a letter dated 27th April 1768 addressed by the Select Committee to the Madras Government :—

‘The blank Firmaun obtained from the King for the Soobahship of the Deccan shall according to your desire be kept with all possible privacy; though, should Nizam Ali (as it is very probable he may) obtain information of this circumstance, it would, we imagine, be productive of a good rather than a contrary effect, as we conceive the knowledge of our superior influence in the empire would increase the awe which our superiority of strength has already inspired him with, and his dread of this instrument reserved in our hands for a future occasion would probably outweigh any sentiments of resentment or jealousy arising from his reflections on our policy.’

Mr. Wheeler in his interesting Report on the Records of the Foreign Department remarks that the astounding fact of such a document is certainly unnoticed by any historian of India. It was probably kept ‘with all possible privacy,’ and never having been used may have accompanied many other valuable documents to England with Clive’s Papers; for judging from a Despatch of 1798 Clive was rather in the habit of retaining valuable documents in his own possession. The passage is curious, and although not new to the public bears reperusal as being connected with the exposure of the incitements to treaty-making at that period.

‘We have lately been informed that Lord Clive had in his custody clear and certain proofs of seven lacks of rupees being paid by Cossim Ally to our servants for making the Monghyr Treaty, and His Lordship having acknowledged that he is in possession of some information upon that subject, we have in reply thereto requested that he will transmit the same to us together with all the Papers in his possession relating to the private negotiations of some of our servants at the time of the revolution in favour of Cossim Ally Cawer, to be deposited with the Court of Directors, and also any other Papers that may be in his custody tending to set those transactions in their true light; for as those proofs came to His Lordship’s hands when he was in a public station, we deem them public papers and as such ought to be transmitted to us.’

Had the Sunnuds or Firmaun existed among the archives of

the Foreign Office in Calcutta, Mr. Aitchison would not have omitted so important a document; and as Mr. Wheeler also failed to discover it when overhauling the Records of that office, this singular historical relic, if extant, lies buried among the Clive papers in England.

Bold as was Clive's action in this matter and of course not at all in conformity with the injunctions of his merchant masters in England, yet his sketch of a policy was far more cautious, and may even call up a smile in the present day when read in the light of the state of affairs in 1865; but on the eve of his departure to Europe in 1767, with a political horizon black with threatening clouds, the man of audacious action was sobered by the contemplation of the circumstances and difficulties which his successors must encounter.

'The first period in politics which I offer to your consideration is the form of Government. We are sensible, that since the acquisition of the Dewany, the power formerly belonging to the Soobah [*i. e.* Nabob] of these provinces is totally in fact vested in the East India Company. Nothing remains to him but the name and shadow of authority. This name, however, this shadow, it is indispensably necessary we should seem to venerate; every mark of distinction and respect must be shown him, and he himself encouraged to show his resentment upon the least want of respect from other nations.

'Under the sanction of a Soobah, every encroachment that may be attempted by foreign powers can effectually be crushed, without any apparent interposition of our own authority, and all real grievances complained of by them can, through the same channel, be examined into and redressed. Be it therefore always remembered that there is a Soobah; that we have allotted him a stipend which must be regularly paid in support of his dignity, and that though the revenues belong to the Company, the territorial jurisdiction must still rest in the chiefs of the country acting under him and this Presidency in conjunction. To appoint the Company's servants to the offices of Collectors, or indeed to do any act by an exertion of the English power which can equally be done by the Nabob at our instance, would be throwing off the mask,—would be declaring the Company Soobah of the provinces. Foreign nations would immediately take umbrage, and complaints preferred to the British Court might be attended with very embarrassing consequences. Nor can it be supposed that either the French, Dutch, or Danes would readily acknowledge the Company's Soobahship, and pay into the hands of their servants the duties upon trade, or the quit-rents of those districts which they may have long been possessed of by virtue of the Royal Firman or grants from former Nabobs. In short, the present form of Government will not, in my opinion, admit of variation. The distinction between the Company and Nabob must be carefully maintained, and every measure wherein the country Government shall even seem to be concerned must be carried on in the name of the Nabob and by his authority. In short, I would have all the Company's servants, the supervisors excepted, confined entirely to commercial matters only, upon the plain laid down in the time of Aliverdy Khan.

'It will not, I presume, be improper in this place to observe that you ought not to be very desirous of increasing the revenues, especially where it can only be effected by oppressing the landholders and tenants. So

' long as the country remains in peace, the collections will exceed the demands; if you increase the former, a large sum of money will either lay dead in the Treasury, or be sent out of the country, and much inconvenience arise in the space of a few years. Every nation trading to the East Indies has usually imported silver for a return in commodities. The acquisition of the Dewany has rendered this mode of traffic no longer necessary for the English Company; our investments may be furnished, our expenses, Civil and Military, paid, and a large quantity of bullion be annually sent to China, though we import not a single dollar. An increase of revenue therefore, unless you can in proportion increase your investments, can answer no good purpose, but may in the end prove extremely pernicious, inasmuch as it may drain Bengal of its silver, and you will undoubtedly consider that the exportation of silver, beyond the quantity imported is an evil, which, though slow, and perhaps remote in its consequences, will nevertheless be fatal to the India Company. This point, therefore, I leave to your constant vigilance and deliberation.

' The subject of moderation leads me naturally into a few reflections upon Military affairs. Our possessions should be bounded by the provinces; studiously maintain peace: it is the groundwork of our prosperity; never consent to act offensively against any powers, except in defence of our own, the king's or Shuja-Dowla's dominions, as stipulated by treaty; and above all things be assured that a march to Delhi would be not only a vain and fruitless project, but attended with certain destruction to your army, and perhaps put a period to the very being of the Company in Bengal.

' Shuja-Dowla, we must observe, is now recovering his strength, and although I am fully persuaded, from his natural disposition, which is cautious and timid, and from the experience he has had of our discipline and courage, that he will never engage against us in another war, yet, like most of his countrymen, he is ambitious, and I am of opinion that as soon as he shall have formed an army, settled his country, and increased his finances, he will be eager to extend his territories, particularly by the acquisition of the Bundelcund District formerly annexed to the Soobahship of Illahabad. It is even not improbable that he will propose an expedition to Delhi and desire our assistance, without which, I think, he has not courage to risk such an undertaking. Here, therefore, we must be upon our guard, and plainly remind the Vizier that we entered into an alliance with him for no other purpose than the defence of our respective dominions, and that we will not consent to invade other powers, unless they should prove the aggressors by committing acts of hostility against him or the English, when it will become necessary to make severe examples in order prevent others from attacking us unprovoked. With regard to his Delhi scheme, it must be warmly remonstrated against and discouraged. He must be assured, in the most positive terms, that no consideration whatever shall induce us to detach our forces to such a distance from this country which produces all the riches we are ambitious to possess. Should he, however, be prevailed upon by the king to escort His Majesty to that capital without our assistance, it will then be our interest to approve the project, as it is the only means by which we can honourably get rid of our troublesome royal guest.

' The Rohillas, the Jauts, and all the northern powers are at too great a distance ever to disturb the tranquillity of these provinces. Shuja-Dowla's ambition, the king's solicitations, and the Mahrattas, these are the three grand objects of policy to this Committee, and by conducting

'your measures with that address of which you are become so well acquainted by experience, I doubt not that the peace of Bengal may be preserved many years, especially if a firm alliance be established with the Soobah of the Deccan; and Janoogee, the Naugpoor Rajah, be satisfied with the chout proposed, to which, I think, he is in justice and equity strictly entitled.

'The Mahrattas are divided into two very great powers, who at present are at variance with each other, *viz.*, those who possess a large part of the Deccan, whose Chief is Ramrajah, well known in the Presidency of Bombay, and by some of the gentlemen in the direction, by the name of Nanah, and whose capital is Poonah, about thirty coss from Surat; and those who possess the extensive province of Berar, whose Chief is Janoogee, and whose capital Naugpoor, is distant from Calcutta about four hundred coss. These last are called Rajpoot Mahrattas, and are those who, after the long war with Ahiverdy Khan, obliged him to make over the Ballasore and Cuttack countries, and to pay a chout of twelve lakhs of Rupees. With Janoogee it is our interest to be upon terms of friendship, for which purpose a Vakeel has been despatched as appears upon the Committee proceedings; and I would recommend your settling of the chout with him agreeably to the plan I have proposed, *viz.*, that we shall pay sixteen lakhs, upon condition that he appoint the Company Zemindar of the Ballasore and Cuttack countries, which, though at present of little or no advantage to Janoogee, would in our possession produce nearly sufficient to pay the whole amount of the chout. Whatever the deficiency may be, it will be overbalanced by the security and convenience we shall enjoy of free and open passage by land to and from Madras, all the countries between the two Presidencies being under our influence; but I would not by any means think of employing force to possess ourselves of those districts: the grant of them must come from him with his own consent, and if that cannot be obtained, we must settle the chout upon the most moderate terms we can.

'The Mahrattas of the Deccan can only be kept quiet and in awe by an alliance with Nizam Ali, which has already in part taken place, and I have not the least doubt that the Soobah's own security, and the perpetual encroachments of the Mahrattas, will soon make him as desirous as we are of completing it. When this measure is brought to perfection, not only the Deccan Mahrattas, but Janoogee also, will have too much to apprehend from our influence and authority so near home, to be able to disturb far distant countries, and Bengal may be pronounced to enjoy as much tranquillity as it possibly can, or at least ought to enjoy consistent with our main object, security.

'With regard to all other powers, they are so distracted and divided amongst themselves that their operations can never turn towards Bengal.'

Yet this sketch of a policy, prudent as it was for a Clive, did not meet with the approbation of the Directors, who in a general letter dated 16th March 1768, paragraph 8, expressed the following opinions:—

'We entirely disapprove the idea adopted of supporting the Soobah of the Deccan as a balance of power against the Mahrattas. It is for the contending parties to establish a balance of power among themselves. Their divisions are our security; and if the Mahrattas molest us, you must consider whether an attack from Bombay, which being near the capital of their dominions, may not be preferable to any defensive operations with the country powers on your side of India.'

Both Clive and the Court, but still more the Court than Clive, lost sight of the fact that in proportion as the power of the Company made itself felt, it must become more and more impracticable arbitrarily to restrict the field of English political and military action. This posture of affairs at Madras, Bombay, and Bengal was calculated to excite the apprehensions of the higher Chiefs of India; the Nabobs of the Carnatic and of Bengal had already succumbed; and matters had reached that stage at which it was vain to expect that the crescent power of the Company could either be viewed with indifference or allowed to repose undisturbed by the jealousy of Hyder and the Mahrattas kindled as it was by the breath of our envious European foes. We had struck too hard for our blows to be easily forgotten or forgiven. Could they honestly and effectively combine, the time had arrived for a coalition unanimously bent on the extinction of our nascent superiority. But then it equally stands to reason that a confederacy composed of the substantive powers, Hyder Ali, the Nizam, and the leading Mahratta Chiefs, the Bhonsla, Holkar, Scindia, and the Peishwa, left small option to a statesman like Warren Hastings, who saw that to the English it was becoming a struggle for existence as well as for empire, and who was not of the mould to be daunted by the difficulties which might shackle but could not intimidate his spirit. From this period dates the compulsory expansion of our relations with Native States, though measures had to be shaped so as to harmonize ostensibly with the tone of feeling in England as well as to cope with the exigencies of a critical and undefined position. The advance of British power and influence had therefore still to be cloaked, and hence Warren Hastings first gave form and stability to the system, afterwards more fully developed by the Marquis of Wellesley, of imposing the presence of a Resident and a subsidiary force at Native Courts. What has been lately said of diplomacy in Europe, namely, that it is armed reason, he felt to be absolutely true in the East, where diplomacy without force at hand to back it has small chance of success. From his time the Company may be said, though cautiously at the commencement, first to step upon the scene with the tread of a sovereign and substantive power, and to pass from Treaties with the littoral Nabobs of the Carnatic and of Bengal to Treaties with powers of a higher order.

As an instance of successful diplomacy the negotiations with the Bhonsla may be quoted which led to the Treaty of 1781 (No. XVIII.) This broke up the confederacy, and though the issue was favoured by the diversion caused by the rise of the Hill Chiefs of Cuttack, and by the dissatisfaction of the

Bhonsla at the neglect of his claims to Gurrah Mundelah by the Peishwa, yet the success was mainly due to the wisdom and foresight of Warren Hastings. Well might he write with evident satisfaction at the result :—

‘The mere fame of an alliance betwixt the English and the Government of Berar will have a great effect. We shall no longer be considered as sinking under the united weight of every State in Hindoostan. The scale of power is evidently turned in our favour, and this is of more importance than would well be imagined in Europe, where the policy of nations is regulated by principles the very reverse of those which prevail in Asia. There, in contests between nations, the weaker is held up by the support of its neighbours, who know how much their own safety depends on the preservation of a proper balance. But in Asia the desire of partaking of the spoils of a falling nation, and the dread of incurring the resentment of the stronger party, are the immediate motives of policy, and every State wishes to associate itself “with that power which “has a decided superiority.”’

It will be observed that the Treaties of this period partake of the character of engagements between equals; that they are free from provisions trenching on the independence of the Mahratta States or the Soobahs of the Empire, and that they even comprise obligations on the part of the English which place this latter in the position of inferiority inseparable from the payment of tribute.

Compare for instance such an article as the following taken from the Treaty of 1768 :—‘As the English Company do not intend to deprive the Mahrattas of their chout, any more than the Soobah of his pesheush, which used to be paid from the Carnatic Balagaute, belonging to the Soobahdarry of Vizianpore, now or lately possessed by Hyder Nair, it is hereby agreed, and the Company willingly promise to pay the Mahrattas regularly and annually without trouble for the whole chout, as settled in former times, from the time the said countries shall be under the Company’s protection as Dewan; provided, however that the Mahrattas guarantee to the Company the peaceable possession of the said Dewany: to this end, the Nabob Ausuph Jah promises to use his best endeavours, jointly with the English and the Nabob Wolau Jah, to settle with the Mahrattas concerning the chout of the said countries, how and where it is to be paid, so that there may be no disturbances hereafter on that account between any of the contracting parties or the Mahrattas.’—With that of 1798 (No. VIII.) which we are tempted to give in *extenso* as marking from the greater strin-

gency of its provisions that during what we have termed the transition period the English power had passed from a state of doubtful to a condition of positive and acknowledged superiority.

We shall however confine our extracts from this remarkable Treaty to the 3rd, 6th, and 7th Articles, which suffice to bring into strong relief the contrast between the character of the engagements of the two epochs.

ARTICLE 3.

'The proposed reinforcement of subsidiary troops shall be in the pay of this State from the day of their crossing the boundaries. Satisfactory and effectual provision shall be made for the regular payment of this force, which, including the present detachment, is to amount to six thousand sepoys with firelocks, with a due proportion of field pieces, manned by Europeans, and at the monthly rate of Rupees 2,01,425. The yearly amount of subsidy for the aforesaid force of six thousand men, with guns, artillerymen, and other necessary appurtenances, is Rupees 24,17,100. The said sum shall be completely discharged in the course of the year, by four equal instalments; that is, at the expiration of every three English months, the sum of Rupees 6,04,275 in silver, of full currency, shall be issued, without hesitation, from His Highness's treasury: and should the aforesaid instalments happen to fall at any time the least in arrears, such arrears shall be deducted, notwithstanding objections thereto, from the current kist of peshush payable to His Highness on account of the Northern Circars. Should it at any time so happen, moreover, that delay were to occur in the issue of the instalments aforesaid, in the stated periods, in such case assignments shall be granted on the collections of certain districts in the State, the real and actual revenue of which shall be adequate to the discharge of the yearly subsidy of the aforesaid force.'

ARTICLE 6.

'Immediately upon the arrival of the subsidiary force at Hyderabad, the whole of the officers and servants of the French party are to be dismissed, and the troops composing it dispersed and disorganized, that no trace of the former establishment shall remain. And His Highness thereby engages for himself, his heirs, and successors, that no Frenchman whatever shall ever hereafter be entertained in his own service, or in that of any of his Chiefs or dependants, nor be suffered to remain in any part of His Highness's dominions; nor shall any Europeans whatever be admitted into the service of this State, nor be permitted to remain within its territories without the knowledge and consent of the Company's government.'

ARTICLE 7.

'The whole of the French and sepoy deserters from the Company's service that may be in the French or any other party of troops belonging to this State, are to be seized and delivered up to the British Resident; and no persons of the above description are to be allowed refuge in future in His Highness's territories, but are, on the contrary, to be seized without delay and delivered up to the British Resident: neither shall any refuge be allowed in the Company's territories, but sepoy deserters from the service of His Highness shall, in like manner, be seized and delivered up without delay.'

During those thirty years, as the authority of the Court of Dehli and the power and prestige of its emperors vanished, expiring at last under Mahratta predominance, our Treaties underwent a change of tone, which, though in part modulated by the uncertain sounds of the political trumpet of successive Governors-General, and more especially by the Quaker-like blasts of Lord Cornwallis, was attributable to the weight which our arms and influence were acquiring amid native powers rivals for supremacy. By no means underrating the virile policy of Lord Wellesley and its effect on the tone and substance of our Treaties, we must yet look to deeper causes than to those minor and surface-like eddies of the current of public opinion in England on the convictions of Governors-General in India. The march of events and the force of circumstances were predominant over all mere secondary influences. This detracts in no way from the merit of Lord Wellesley and the men of his school, for he had the sense to appreciate the necessities of his position, and instead of running counter to them, from a pusillanimous dread of what might be thought in England, he accepted the responsibility of founding a great empire on the debris of a crumbling one, and braved the danger, by no means an imaginary one, of acting in accordance with the grasp of his own statesmanlike perception of the opportunity.

Properly to comprehend the position of affairs during the transition period, which was the harbinger of Lord Wellesley's rule, the thread of historical events on the Bombay side, and the oscillations of fortune on that coast, must be studied. The compact but lucid remarks which precede the Peishwa and Scindia groups of Treaties are admirably adapted to give a bird's-eye-view of this portion of our Indian Annals; and when it is remembered that as late as 1782 it was through the mediation of Scindia and under his guarantee that the Treaty of Salbye was concluded, and peace restored between the Peishwa and the English, it will be easily understood how up to that time and even later our negotiations with native states trenched but partially on their individual independence. Lord Cornwallis, influenced by the views which prevailed in England, views to which he in theory at least made his own policy subservient, managed to observe in his letter to the Nizam of the 7th July 1789 and in his Treaties of 1790 the rule of reciprocity to an extent which disappeared from the Treaties of 1798 when Lord Wellesley, ceasing to deal with the Nizam as an equal, imposed conditions which sealed the dependence of the Nizam, and stamped his future position as one of purely subordinate alliance with the Company's Government.

From 1798 to the close of Lord Wellesley's administration in 1805 is an epoch from which the History of British India takes a fresh departure. It was the era of subsidiary alliances, of the annihilation of Tippoo's power and of French ascendancy, and of the dissolution of Mahratta supremacy. It was the epoch when the chimera of a balance of power among native states, and of the Company remaining a neutral spectator of the desolation of India by the ruthless plunderers Holkar, Scindia, and the Bhonsla, was found by experience to be an hallucination utterly incompatible with the imperious necessities of the times.

Lord Wellesley and the men of his school saw clearly the fatuity of the principle of neutrality and forbearance which had been the dream of the Home Authorities and the incubus of their predecessors. Though compelled in some measure to respect the prejudices, based on the misapplied analogies of European international law, which pervaded their countrymen and even the Statesmen of England, yet, they shook free from servile submission to what was felt to be wholly inapplicable to the turmoil around them, and the stern requirements of the circumstances in which they were placed. They did so too with a wise perception of the inexpediency of wholesale annexation of native states, and with a well pronounced conservative policy in their favour. But nevertheless they saw distinctly that amid such active and aggressive elements of conflict the English power must either rise predominant, or sink under the withering blight of Mahratta anarchy. The antagonism between the aims of Mahratta, or even of Mahomedan rulers, a much superior and more civilized class than the Mahrattas, and those of English rulers was a pitting against each other of the principles of evil and good. It was the spirit of cruelty, rapine, and anarchy in conflict with that of order, justice, and peace. Granting that the element of ambition existed on both sides, the ambition of the one was devilish, that of the other humane and Christian : side by side two such hostile principles of Government, if the chaos of the one can be called Government, could not exist : one or other must prevail, and fortunate it was for India that Lord Wellesley and the men of his school were not blinded by pusillanimous theories. They saw clearly the nature of the duel upon which they were entering, accepted its alternative, and shrunk not from the bold avowal that on the supremacy of the English power hung the future welfare of India. We have already alluded to the dictum of a former Governor-General of India that diplomacy is armed reason. If the definition have truth in Europe where the relations among Christian and civilized states are of that

nature that it is in the interests of peace and of an amicable understanding that the armed support which forms the background of diplomatic controversy should studiously avoid any threatening display, the definition has much more truth in the East, where diplomacy in order to be successful demands a more overt display of the material strength and support which underlies diplomatic action. To make good the grounds gained during Lord Wellesley's administration and to secure that the formal engagements entered into with native states should not prove waste paper, it was necessary at that critical juncture to develop the system of subsidiary forces introduced by Warren Hastings. Henceforward a strictly limited power was alone conceded to the Mahomedan and Mahratta Chiefs; for the future their position was to be one of subordination; they had passed from sovereignty to the abnegation of sovereign powers; from independence to dependence; and it was not to be supposed that so radical a change could have place without the Mahratta leaders more especially feeling chafed and humiliated. If the great battle of order against anarchy was not again to be fought, it was essential that the treaties exacted from the native powers at this period should have a firmer seal than that of the parchments on which they were written, and that the tortuous minds and the tortuous policy of these restless and intriguing chiefs should be curbed by the presence of agents of the English properly supported.

Lord Wellesley however had hardly turned his back upon India when the exploded fallacies of a balance of power among native states began again to sway the minds of some of our Indian officials, and even as late as 1810 there was a resuscitation of the idea in connexion with a proposal from the Bombay Government for the acceptance from the Guicowar state of a sum of money in commutation for the territory ceded to the British Government by that state. When making this proposal the Governor of Bombay and his Council discussed the policy of the restoration to the native states of the territories held in virtue of our subsidiary engagements and of the re-establishment of a balance of power among them, with a view of our return to the policy of forbearance and neutrality, and to the narrow limits of our former possession. The reply of the Court of Directors is a dispatch admirably written, and full of sterling good sense; it may have passed away from the minds of even historical readers, and as it deserves to be saved from oblivion, having been the seal of approval to Lord Wellesley's policy, we shall offer no apology for refreshing the memories of our readers with an extract from this most able state paper.

'The relinquishment of the territories which we hold in virtue of subsisting
'Treaties with the Guicowar State is therefore simply a question of political
'expediency, and this proposition has nothing to distinguish it from the more
'comprehensive scheme of restoring to the rest of our allies the territories
'which they have ceded to us in lieu of subsidy except that the proposer of
'the scheme admits that it is the most objectionable part of it.

'We are well aware of the dangers attendant upon too extended dominion
'and we have not to learn that an addition of territory is not unfrequently a
'subtraction from real power. There are circumstances also peculiar to an Eastern
'Empire which have led us to regret the necessity of spreading over a wide surface
'that ingredient of our Military force which it is most difficult to supply. But
'we are not convinced by the reasonings which have been adduced in favour of
'the voluntary contraction of our territorial limits, that our situation would be
'at all improved by such a measure placing out of view all the embarrassing ques-
'tions to which it would give rise between us and our allies, the inconveniences
'which it would bring upon a great number of our servants by depriving them of
'their present employments, and the inhumanity of handing over to Native rapa-
'city and misrule a numerous population who, we trust, are prospering under the
'benign influence of the British Government; supposing in short the scheme to be
'as easy of execution as its most strenuous advocates could desire, we should still
'be of opinion that it would not secure the objects which it professes to have
'in view, namely: the re-establishment of that balance of power which is said to
'have formerly existed, the extinction of those feelings of secret enmity and
'jealousy, which our paramount domination has excited in the minds of the
'Native Governments and the stability which our power would gain from such
'an improvement in the disposition of our neighbours as well as from the con-
'centration of our Military force.

'You have shown to our satisfaction that in order to place the Native States
'in that situation which would constitute this projected balance of power, it
'would be necessary to restore not merely the cessions voluntarily made by our
'allies as the price of our protection, but also the territories gained by conquest
'from the Mahrattas in the late wars. We concur with you in opinion that
'even such a concession would utterly fail to satisfy their desires or conciliate
'their good-will. The policy of a measure of this description would be too
'refined for the comprehension of the Native Courts, and consequently our
'conduct would be attributed to motives more conformable to those by which
'their own proceedings are ordinarily regulated. The contraction of our terri-
'torial limits would be considered as a symptom of declining power, and, unless
'in establishing a nearer equality among the Native States at the expense of
'our own territorial dominion, we could at the same time eradicate from the
'minds of Native Rulers that lust of conquest which is inherent in their poli-
'tical system, and substitute in its place just and moderate principles and a
'disposition to submit implicitly to the obligations of public law as recognized
'and interpreted by the authority of the British Government, nothing can be
'more evident than that the balance would be destroyed in less time than was
'required for adjusting it. It surely could never be intended by the projectors
'of this scheme that after having bestowed such elaborate pains and made such
'large sacrifices in establishing a balance of power in India, we should abstract
'ourselves entirely from all attention to the concerns of surrounding States
'and be thenceforth solely occupied in administering our own affairs; this
'would be not only impolitic but impossible. We therefore should not be ex-
'onerated from the duty of watching as heretofore, the proceedings of those
'States, and of interfering in their differences. If we fail to effect the accom-
'modation of those differences by amicable means, we must then as before have
'recourse to arms, and supposing the result of our efforts to be as successful as
'they have formerly proved, we should be gradually reconducted to our present
'situation.

'By adopting the scheme of abandoning our recent conquest and acquisitions
'we should therefore at the best impose upon ourselves the labour of retracing

'our steps with all the responsibility, disgrace, and risk of having by a short-sighted policy occasioned the contentions, devastation, and confusion which would ensue from a voluntary dereliction of the commanding position we at present occupy.

'In every view which we can take of the scheme in question, it appears to us calculated to produce any effect rather than that security, stability, and tranquillity which it professes to have for its objects, and we are persuaded from deep and anxious reflection that the only course which true wisdom and sound policy prescribe is strenuously to maintain that ascendancy which a long course of events (the result of accident or necessity rather than of design or choice) has given to our power in the East. We therefore could not by any means entertain a proposition which, in requiring us to resign a considerable extent of territory, would in our view require us also to forego that paramount dominion which appears to us to afford the best security for the general peace of India, and which will also enable us more effectually to crush any new combinations which may be formed against our power.'

It is not our intention to follow closely the changing phases of our general policy, or the traces which its oscillations and consequent inconsistencies have left on the text of our treaties. Our readers, with Mr. Aitchison's work before them, will easily, in spite of his commendable reserve and scrupulous abstinence from controversy, perceive that he is no admirer of the retrograde policy which bore ill fruit under Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Barlow, and later still under Lord William Bentinck broke down and brought discredit on the Anglo-Indian Government. The theory of non-interference, applicable enough to independent states beyond our frontiers, has repeatedly failed when attempts have been made to carry it out strictly with respect to states which are incorporated in the circle of British India. Instead of being conservative of such Native Chiefships it has proved their destruction. Their extirpation would infallibly be secured, and that in the shortest time, by leaving them to their own suicidal courses : public opinion would then soon grow impatient and force the Government to wipe out administrations which were a disgrace to humanity. Without entering fully into the question of non-interference, the fallacies and the dangers which it involves could not be shown. For this there is neither space nor time ; but it enters within the scope of this article to point out that, whilst over one large and important class of native states, namely those of Central India and the Deccan, our relations had passed from equal to unequal alliances and had reduced them to dependencies, the states of Rajpootana, owing to a clause in the Treaty of 1805, (No. XVI.) with Scindia were long artificially isolated and exempted from our supremacy.

Mr. Aitchison notes the fact thus :—

'The system of non-interference which was introduced on the accession of Lord Cornwallis left the States of Central India

‘ and Rajpootana a prey to the Pindaree freebooters, who gained
‘ in strength as the Mahratta power decayed. They soon ven-
‘ tured to extend their depredations into British territory. No
‘ line of defence and no disposition of troops could protect the
‘ country from their incursions under the system of warfare
‘ which they pursued, and Government was therefore led to
‘ form a general system of political alliances for the entire sup-
‘ pression of the Pindarees. The Treaty of 1817 with Scindia
‘ removed the restriction which had been placed upon the form-
‘ ation of alliances between the British Government and the
‘ Rajpoot States, and left Government free to enter on new rela-
‘ tions with them. The object of the treaties to be formed with
‘ them was the establishment of a barrier against the predatory
‘ system and against the extension of the power of Scindia or
‘ Holkar beyond the limits which Government designed to impose
‘ on it by other measures. It was not at that time proposed to
‘ acquire the power of exercising any interference in the internal
‘ administration of the Rajpoot States, but to subject only their
‘ political measures and external relations to the control of the
‘ British Government, to secure to Scindia and Holkar the
‘ tribute payable to them in the event of these chiefs entering
‘ into the policy of the British Government, and to secure to
‘ the British Government such pecuniary aid as might be adapt-
‘ ed to the means of the several states respectively, in order to
‘ indemnify the British Government for the charges incidental
‘ to the obligation of protecting them.

‘ Arrangements on this principle were made with the states
‘ of Oudeypore, Jeypore, Jodhpore, Kotah, Boondce, Kerowlee,
‘ Banswarrah, Doongurpore, and Kishengurh, and the relations
‘ of Government with the more distant states of Jessulmere
‘ and Bikaner were improved, but without the establishment
‘ of the same intimate connection as with the other states.’

Upon the removal of this artificial barrier, which the British Government had observed with all good faith, though it was a proviso in support of the Mahratta pretensions to dominion over Rajpootana, our relations with the Rajpoot States assumed a similar aspect in general with those instituted with the states of the Deccan and Central India; the main difference being that there was no necessity for stationary subsidiary forces in Rajpootana. All the essential provisions which strip a state of the attributes of independent sovereignty were however carefully introduced into the Rajpootana treaties. These stipulations may be concisely stated as abrogating from the Rajpoot chief the right to make war; to negotiate with any chief or state without the sanction of the British Government; to

entertain English or European subjects of any other nation without the consent of the British Government; and as imposing the obligation to furnish troops according to their means on the requisition of the supreme power; to pay tribute; and in the case of Tonk, to disband its army and to deliver up to the British Government guns and military equipments. In a word these treaties amounted to a surrender of all sovereign rights in return for the protection of the English Government and its engaging to leave the Rajpoot chiefs their heirs and successors, absolute rulers of their own territories, without any introduction of the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the courts of the British Government. By 1818 the protection and the supremacy of our Government had been extended in terms more or less precise over the whole of Rajpootana, and thus, except on the line of the lower Indus, all India was under the accepted protection and the acknowledged supremacy of the Company's Government. Though the Punjab was not in the category of protected states, being beyond our frontier, the Cis-Sutlej States had from 1809 been under our protection, and were by Ochterlony's proclamation of 1811 brought more positively under the control of the Company's Government. Practically therefore by 1818 the mass of native states comprised within the natural boundaries of India, except the Punjab, Buhawulpore, and Scinde, were dependencies, and had ceased to exercise independent sovereign powers.

We are particular in dwelling upon this fact, because it is impossible to peruse the Blue Books laid before Parliament, or the published Despatches of our leading political officers, and even of some of our Governors and Governor-Generals, without remarking that the transition from a state of reciprocity and of dealing with equals to a condition of affairs in which the English Government as supreme dictated terms which reduced the native states, formerly claiming to be treated as independent sovereignties, to a position of feudatory and tributary dependencies, was frequently not sufficiently kept in view. The tendency to this error was increased by the Supreme Government occasionally reviving the policy of non-interference, and pushing it to an extent which could only be defended on the supposition that the native states to which it was applied were on a footing of perfect equality with the Company's Government. Whenever, from motives of narrow and short-sighted expediency, the British Government thus endeavoured to shirk the responsibilities of its position, and drew back from the legitimate exercise of its own superior functions, it followed of necessity that there should be uncertainty and no small

amount of contradiction in the theory and practice both of the Government itself and of its political officers. Concurrent with this manifest source of error was the circumstance that the generality of treatises on international law are, from their European origin, conversant with the status and relations of the independent sovereignties of Europe; whilst the works of American jurists, derived in a great measure from European prototypes, are naturally devoted to a consideration of the application of the principles thus derived to the relations of the federal states among themselves, or of the federal Government itself in connexion with foreign powers. The older authorities on international law seldom had any reason for dwelling upon the position or the rights of mere dependencies; they either make very transient allusion to them, or pass them over altogether. The influence of the authors available on the subject of the *Jus Gentium* was therefore calculated to lead our Indian political officers unconsciously to adopt and to apply to the exceptional and subordinate position of our native chiefs, views; rules, and of course language only properly applicable to the status *inter se* of sovereign and independent powers. Very grave errors and serious embarrassments may be traced to these combined sources; for not only were our own agents misled, but occasionally the misuse of terms implied admissions of which native chiefs were quick in taking advantage, and upon which they based and advanced pretensions quite incompatible with their relative positions. Besides being misled themselves, our political officers therefore not unfrequently fostered grave misapprehensions on the part of native rulers.

Nor will this tendency to misapply the vocabulary and the principles of international law appear extraordinary to any one moderately conversant with the writings of later jurists. Refer for instance to Austen's chapter in which he reviews the definitions of sovereignty given by Bentham, Hobbes, Grotius, and Von Martens of Gottingen; and where after criticizing the insufficiency of their definitions he proceeds most laboriously to state his own. A perusal of that chapter brings at once the conviction that even among jurists there had up to that time been a good deal of haziness of thought on this important subject of sovereignty. It cannot be surprising therefore if the use of language very inappropriate to the actual relations existing between the Supreme Power and its subordinate feudatories, was to be found not alone in the mouths of the political officers, but even in the despatches of Government and the Court of Directors. Occasionally, where political officers wrote of the native rulers to whom they were accredited as if they had been

kings of France or emperors of Austria or Russia, the fact was in part ascribable to the latent desire of not diminishing the reflected importance which is derived from the dignity and power of the Court to which a diplomatic officer is deputed. But though sometimes self-importance, and at others misapprehension of the real position of native chiefs coupled with a laudable desire to do them all possible honour, affected the style of political officers, yet, such a passage as the following, which indicates the strange vibrations of our policy, affords both a key and an apology for the mistaken tone and language which often vitiates their Despatches :—

‘ A fundamental principle in the arrangements made by the British Government in Bundelcund was originally declared to be the confirmation of the chiefs of that province in the possession of such parts of their ancient territorial rights as were held under Ali Bahadoor’s Government, on condition of their allegiance and fidelity to the British power, their renouncing all views of future aggrandizement, and their abandoning such parts of Ali Bahadoor’s conquests as had been resumed by them subsequently to his death. It was also resolved to form arrangements with some leaders of plundering bands, who were not hereditary chiefs, but whose hostility was directed solely to the object of obtaining subsistence, and to grant these persons some territory, with a view to the pacification of the country. At first it was the policy of Government to leave the protection of their territories to the chiefs themselves, and to exact no tribute or revenue from them. In several of the engagements executed in 1805 and 1806, it was therefore distinctly stipulated that the chiefs should renounce all claim to the aid and protection of Government. Experience, however, soon showed the necessity of departing from this principle, and of declaring the Bundelcund chiefs to be vassals and dependants of the British Government. But it was never the intention of Government to establish its laws and regulations in the states of these chiefs; and to remove all doubt on this subject, these states were declared by Regulation XXII. of 1812 to be exempt from the operation of the general regulations and from the jurisdiction of the Civil and Criminal Courts. The particular clauses of the engagements made with the chiefs which imply a right of jurisdiction on the part of Government, have ever been understood to convey exclusively a right of political jurisdiction, that is to say, a right to interfere for the settlement of disputed claims, differences, and disputes of any kind, not through the channel of the courts of justice, but through the agency of the representative of the British Government in Bundelcund.’—
Vol. 3, p. 228.

When in 1805 and 1806 Government reversed its policy, and negotiated with petty native states to obtain their renunciation of the protection of the British Government, the retrograde step was an attempt to restore them to independence by casting upon them the duty of self-protection, and it was accompanied by the enunciation of corresponding principles. Under such circumstances the political officers could scarcely avoid reflecting the views, however mistaken, which influenced and guided the policy of their Government. On such occasions the mischief does not cease with a change to a sounder policy. Government and its officers, after being for some time committed to an erroneous course, cannot at a stroke cast off its trammels. The traditions of office remain in the native chief's bureaux as well as in those of the agents of Government, and where there is a revival, as was the case in Lord William Bentinck's time, of the policy of non-interference, its advocates ransack the records of previous years for precedents based on the errors of 1805 and 1806. It thus becomes very difficult effectually to weed official correspondence of exploded and obsolete opinions.

We have said that the political language of Government and its officers was coloured not alone by the verbiage of a defunct policy, but also in no minor degree by the accident that as European international law dealt only with the relations of independent and sovereign political bodies, its language was not adapted to the consideration or treatment of an entirely different kind of connexion, namely that which exists between a supreme power and its subordinates. The technical terms in which to clothe such relations have to be created; and it was palpably easier to misapply those in use with reference to independent states than to coin new ones to meet the position and the obligations of dependencies. We have not far to turn for late instances of the misuse of the vocabulary of the European Law of Nations. A more glaring instance can scarcely be adduced than one which is given in Mr. Aitchison's work, where the words 'full sovereignty' occur in the Sunnuds or Charters granted to the Sikh Protected Chiefs, Putteala, Jheend, and Nabha. It is a complicated error. There is first the very important question whether powers of full sovereignty can be at all conferred; whether they are not matter of fact dependent on the actual and the undisputed power of a substantive State;—next, whether the Governor-General, or the Secretary of State, are in any possible way competent to confer such powers;—especially when their grant is *pro tanto* an infringement of Her Majesty's sovereignty rights, not supported by any expression of opinion

on the part of Parliament :—then, there is the absolute incompatibility of such powers with the fundamental status of those chiefs as laid down by the Proclamations of 1809 and 1811 ;—lastly, there is the statement that the original documents are in Persian, that the English-Persian is of no validity, and that the words ‘full sovereignty, are a false and exaggerated rendering. We have not space to enter into any discussion of those various questions, but when in 1860 a blunder of the kind could be committed, no wonder that during earlier periods a frequent misapplication of significant terms should occur. The proper vocabulary did not exist, and men will risk much in official correspondence to eschew tedious and repeated forms of periphrasis which are contrary to the idioms of our language and to the temper of our people.

At no small risk of being wearisome to our readers we must allude to the other inconveniences which attend a misuse of words, conveying the idea of rights which are non-existent in the subjects to whom the terms are applied. No better field or more golden opportunity could be offered to those bent on creating political capital at the expense of the Anglo-Indian Government, and we are only surprised that this rich mine has not been more greedily worked. A further inconvenience is the inflation of native chiefs, due to the inspiration of false ideas, and the tendency to foster notions of independence pretty certain to encourage a wilful opposition to the wholesome advice and beneficial influence of the Supreme Government, a course pregnant with danger to the stability of native administrations. Finally, there is the inconvenience of helping to misguide English statesmen, a race not over-disposed to give time and thought to the investigation of Indian affairs, and who are very ready to take as admissions on the part of the Anglo-Indian Government any abuse of terms, however palpable, into which either the Government or its agents may fall. In the present day when the habit has been encouraged of looking beyond the Government of India to the Home Government, and to the floor of the House of Commons, even too of the Upper House, as an arena for intrigue and the agitation of ridiculous pretensions, the Government and their political officers cannot be too precise and careful in the language they use. Yet the difficulty which besets their being so should be fully acknowledged. Where are they to look for an accurate and accepted phraseology free from associations or false analogies which are inseparable from the employment of the common terms which have currency and are derived from the international law of Europe? It might be ill-naturedly put as an instance

of the utter indifference of England to its Indian empire that there has been no attempt whatever to analyze the relations existing between the supreme power and its subordinates. One of the last writers, Twiss, cannot be fairly blamed for neglecting a subject which did not come within the scope of his work; as it only professed to treat of the law of nations considered as independent political communities, fault cannot justly be found with the summary way in which he dismisses the consideration of the dependent states of India. Yet what could be more meagre than the following passage which is all that he deigns to devote to the status of our native chiefships:—

‘The native states of India are instances of protected dependent states, maintaining the most varied relations with the British Government under compacts with the East India Company. All these states acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government, and some of them admit its right to interfere so far in their internal affairs, that the East India Company has become virtually sovereign over them. None of these states however hold any political intercourse with one another or with foreign powers.’

Leaving out of consideration the strange fact that in 1861 a writer of Twiss’s ability should write of the East India Company as a still existant sovereign body, we have the characteristic fact that, whilst ten lines are sufficient for the notice conferred on the political relations of native states with the supreme British power, two full pages are assigned to the principality of Monaco, and two full pages to the Lordship of Kniphausen.

It is useless to quote other authors for, except Austen, none attempt honestly to grapple with the status of semi-sovereign states, a designation to which he objects. Even with Austen however India is wholly ignored. This may have arisen from the want of such a work as Mr. Aitchison’s at the time Austen wrote, for he was too profound a thinker, and too honest a one, to shirk the discussion of the relations of dependent states. Accordingly it is in his writings, more than in those of the generality of authors on the *Jus Gentium*, that guiding principles and an approach to correct phraseology may be obtained. Some of his generalizations are very remarkable, and it might almost be imagined that he had the history of many native states in view when he penned such a passage as the following:—Most indeed of the Governments ‘deemed imperfectly supreme, are Governments which in their origin had been substantially vassal; but which had insensibly escaped

'from most of their feudal bands, though they still continued 'apparently in their primitive state of subjection.' Had Austen had in his eye the soobahs of the Delhi empire, or the robber Mahratta chiefs, the Peishwa's Lieutenants, no description could be more accurate.

After a careful dissection of the distinction of sovereign and other political powers into such as are legislative, and such as are executive or administrative, he arrived at the conclusion, that of all the larger divisions of political powers the division of those powers into supreme and subordinate is perhaps the only precise one, and that 'a society political but subordinate 'is merely a limb or member of a society political and independent'; and, with respect to the rulers of such communities, he says 'the powers or rights of subordinate political superiors 'are merely emanations of sovereignty. They are merely 'particles of sovereignty committed by sovereigns to subjects.'

It would have been well had these axioms of Austen's been better known by some of our Indian political officers; they would then have been restrained from the loose employment of terms far more comprehensive than was properly applicable. When a writer of Austen's ability lays down the principle that 'there is no such political mongrel as a Government sovereign 'and subject,' and that the political powers of a Government deemed imperfectly supreme, exercised entirely and habitually at the pleasure and bidding of the other, are merely nominal and illusive, it is to be regretted that both on the part of Government and its officers greater attention should not have been paid to accuracy of expression.

These remarks are made in no other than the most friendly feeling to native states, and from the conviction that the course most conservative of their permanent interests is that which prevents their rulers, from entertaining chimerical notions of their footing with respect to the Supreme Government: a just apprehension of their real position will show them the wisdom of avoiding opposition to the onward start which India is at length making under British rule; and the expediency of identifying themselves and their states with the progress now effecting around them. By thus making common cause with the British Government in its beneficent exertions, their own abiding interests will be far better fostered than by the indulgence of empty pretensions. The English Government neither wishes to curtail their honours or their possessions; the adoption and succession Sunnuds entered in Mr. Aitchison's work are proof of its disinterested desire for the perpetuation of the rule of its subordinate allies and feudatories. The only thing which

can now be fatal to them is gross misrule and its consequent isolation from the policy of the Government of India, namely, the rapid improvement of India and its races. The days of the annexation policy are passed, and nothing but gross and obstinate dereliction from the obligations and duties of their position can henceforward endanger them; but they must honourably discharge the trust devolved upon them, for it will not be to their advantage to evoke the exercise of such remedial measures as those which Lord Elgin was compelled to adopt at Oodeypore. If the days of annexation are gone, so too are the days of gross cruelty and tyranny; for British supremacy can neither tolerate nor cloak such abuse of administrative powers under the ægis of its protection.

Some of our readers may be disposed to accuse us, in our previous observations, of combating an ideal danger; but a reference to Mr. Aitchison's remarks on Kattywar must disabuse them of this suspicion.

'The discussions with the Peishwa, however, were ended by the Treaty of 1817, by the 7th Article* of which he ceded to the British Government all his rights in Kattywar; and since the agreement† in 1820 with the Guikwar, by which he engaged to send no troops into Kattywar and to make no demands on the province except through the British Government, the supreme authority in Kattywar has been vested in the British Government alone, *firstly*, in its own share acquired under the Treaty of 1817, and *secondly*, in the Guikwar's share by virtue of the above agreement. In the districts known as the Panch Mehals‡ however, which had come under the direct rule of the Guikwar, and in Okamundul, which, after its conquest by the British Government, was ceded to the Guikwar by the 7th Article of the Treaty¶ of 6th November 1817, the internal management is conducted by the officers of the Guikwar.

'It was soon discovered that the Kattywar chiefs, partly from their pecuniary embarrassments, and partly from their weakness and the subdivision of their jurisdictions, were incapable of acting up to the engagements which bound them to preserve the peace of the country and suppress crime. On the other hand, the British Government was fettered in its efforts to effect an improvement in the administration by these very engagements which it had mediated when the country was under the authority of the Peishwa and the Guikwar, and when the substitution of the direct control of the British supremacy for that of the native governments had not been contemplated. These engagements, besides considerations of financial and political expediency, prevented the subjection of the chiefs to ordinary British rule, and no course of reform was left open save to introduce a special authority suited to the obligations of the British Government, the actual condition of the country, and the usages and character of its inhabitants. Inquiries which had been instituted in 1825 showed that the Kattywar chiefs believed the sovereignty of the country to reside in the power to whom they paid tribute; that before the British Government

* See vol. III., page 79.

† See vol. III. page 342.

‡ Amrelee, Dharee, and Dantarwar, in the Kattywar division; Korinar in Sorath; and Damnuggur in Gohelwar.

¶ See above, page 330.

‘assumed the supreme authority, the Guikwar had the right of interfering to settle disputed successions, to punish offenders seized in chiefships of which they were not subjects, to seize and punish indiscriminate plunderers, to coerce chiefs who disturbed the general peace, and to interfere in cases of flagrant abuse of power or notorious disorder in the internal government of the chiefs. Based therefore, upon these rights of the supreme power, the British Government, in 1831, established a Criminal Court of Justice in Kattywar, to be presided over by the Political Agent aided by three or four chiefs as assessors, for the trial of capital crimes in the estates of chiefs who were too weak to punish such offences, and of crimes committed by petty chiefs upon one another, or otherwise than in the legitimate exercise of authority over their own dependants. Until the year 1853 every sentence passed by this Court was submitted to the Bombay Government for approval; but now sentences not exceeding imprisonment for seven years do not require the sanction of superior authority. There are five chiefs in Kattywar, viz., Joonagurh, Nowanuggur, Bhowanuggur, Poorbundur, and Drangdra, who exercise first class jurisdiction, that is to say, have power to try for capital offences, without permission from the Political Agent, any persons except British subjects; and eight, viz., Wankaneer, Morvee, Rajkot, Gondul, Dheral, Limree, Wudwan, and Palitana, who exercise second class jurisdiction, that is to say, have power to try for capital offences, without permission of the Political Agent, their own subjects only.

‘Notwithstanding these efforts to reform the administration of Kattywar, there has been little improvement in the condition of the country. The social and political system of Kattywar is described as a system of sanguinary boundary disputes, murders, robbery, abduction, arson, and self-outlawry. Upwards of two hundred persons are said to have voluntarily made themselves outlaws and to subsist professedly by depredation. Although about eighty of the petty states which existed in 1807 have been absorbed in other states, yet, from the constant sub-division of possessions by inheritance, the number of separate jurisdictions* has risen to four hundred and eighteen, and in the majority of these the jurisdiction claimed is over two villages, one village, and often over a fraction of a village. A scheme is now under the consideration of government for the re-organization of the administration by classifying the petty chiefs and defining their powers and the extent of their jurisdiction, dividing the country into four districts and appointing European officers to these districts to superintend the administration generally, and more particularly to try inter-jurisdictional cases and offenders who have no known chief, or who are under such petty landholders as may be unable to bring them to trial.’

Can the *reductio ad absurdum* be carried to a greater length than the idea of independent jurisdictions over fractions of villages? Were an English jurist to push the theory in which some of them revel (that the king is the fountain of

* In Jhalawar	...	...	...	...	...	102
In Kattywar Proper	...	...	...	...	...	151
In Muchoo Kanta	...	...	...	...	...	2
In Hallar	...	...	...	...	...	47
In Soruth	...	...	...	...	...	7
In Purda	...	...	...	...	...	1
In Gohelwar	...	...	...	...	...	51
In Ond Surwya	...	...	...	...	...	37
In Babriawar	...	...	...	...	...	20
Total	...	...	...	...	...	418

justice and the source of executive power) to the extent that every bailiff, keeping himself awake as Beadle of the parish church by warming his cane on the backs of sleepy charity school boys, exercised independent sovereign powers, the theory would be thought extravagant. Both are however equally logical deductions from the assumed premises, and the cane of the Beadle is probably as efficacious an emblem of the sceptre as any which a Thakoor glorying in sovereignty over the sixteenth part of a poor Kattywar village could display. In the case of this province it would not be difficult to trace back to Colonel Walker's misuse of terms the whole long chain of a mistaken policy in stereotyping, under the influence of an erroneous lead, the preposterous pretensions of petty chiefs to the exercise of sovereignty rights over separate and (so called) independent jurisdictions. It might thus be shown that for a long series of years Government has been engaged in exorcising spectres of its own raising, but which unfortunately are easier raised than laid again, where, as is the case with our system, even errors are crystallized with sober good faith and always find most conservative supporters.

The wise and conciliatory policy of Lord Canning was not without some counterpoise. The liberal rewards granted were not always very well proportioned to the real services rendered in 1857; on the contrary some of the rewards were excessive, others misplaced, and there was some truth in an adage then current that the most profitable of all lines was that of a native chief, playing a waiting game and drawing it so fine that the odds were great whether a halter or the collar of the new order was to adorn his neck; for those who played that game usually came out not only white-washed but profusely belauded and rewarded, whilst the idea was fostered by the eagerness to praise and recompense that but for the support of these lukewarm allies we should in 1857 have been driven to our ships. Flattering as the idea was to the dignity and importance of native chiefs, it is not surprising that to the present day some of them labour under the fallacy that this notion had, in their individual cases, an astounding amount of reality. There is a corresponding estimation of the inordinate value of their own meritorious services, and of the depth of the eternal obligation under which the British Government lies to these Paladins, and how very ill requited they have been in comparison with rival claimants for the liberality of Government. Each one of them lifted the English cause out of the mire; and but for his peculiar exertions and heroism our case was hopeless. A very large amount of bladder-like sound and inflation is the

result, and it may be doubted whether a single chief, however generous the British Government may have been, was either content or grateful. On the other hand however Lord Canning's policy, by the assurance it gave that annexation formed no part of our future scheme of administration, softened down the nervous apprehension in which native chiefs lived. During Lord Dalhousie's reign the dread of annexation reached a point of extreme tension, and the events of 1857 justifying severity on the part of the British Government, the magnanimous policy of Lord Canning came as a surprise, and though each chief was discontented with his own share of the bountiful return made for small services, and growling comparisons were frequent, yet, in spite of these pettinesses, there was produced a general impression favourable to the disinterestedness of the British Government. The incubus annexation was removed, and free from this nightmare fear the chiefs breathed freer. No better proof of the altered state of feeling could be adduced than that many of the chiefs, Scindia and Jeypoor at their head, have agreed to cede full rights of sovereignty over land taken up for Railway purposes. This has been done with a view of enabling the British Government to legislate for the maintenance of security to person and property along the lines of Rail, which before long will traverse the territories of so many of our dependent chiefs; but indispensably necessary as this cession is, and manifestly to the advantage and interest of those who have wisely made it, yet we venture to assert that but for the confidence in our intentions due to Lord Canning's policy and measures, no such concession would have been willingly made by a native chief. It would have been regarded, as it is still by some, as being the introduction of the small end of the wedge, and would have been opposed and resisted accordingly.

This brings us to the consideration how far, judging from such concessions as are above noted and from the abolition of transit duties recorded in Mr. Aitchison's work, native chiefs are becoming sensible of the immense benefit which they and their subjects are deriving from the trade which the English power has brought to the shores of India, and the wealth which has in consequence flowed into the country. Do they value as they ought the advantages which accrue to them from the enterprise and the ability of the European commercial community? Without in any way derogating from the qualities displayed by the Parsees, who, on the Bombay side, have established their pre-eminence, and are also elsewhere distinguished as enlightened and successful merchants, it must be allowed that with

few exceptions the trade and commerce of India owes every thing to the genius and daring enterprize of our own countrymen, and but little to that of its own native sea-faring merchants. Is there any due appreciation of the benefits conferred on our Indian dependencies by their connexion with the greatest commercial country of the world through the agency of a large body of intelligent British merchants engaged in bringing India as it were into contact with every region of the globe, by opening her ports to the free influx of the products of Eastern and Western nations? We think that there is a dawning perception of the great utility of our dominion from this point of view. The visits of native chiefs to Calcutta and Bombay have lately been more frequent, being facilitated by the Railways, and it is impossible but that the sight of such a ship-laden river as the Hooghly, and such a magnificent harbour as Bombay, must excite reflections in the minds of native chiefs and their followers calculated to allay their prejudices against a race which they have usually only known through its official representatives, and necessarily therefore under relations not the best adapted to smooth down pride ruffled by a sense of imposed subordination. There is a wide distance however between the superficial impression which such flying visits may make, and anything approaching to intercourse with the leading members of our great commercial capitals. Time must elapse before native chiefs, fully alive to their own interests as they on some points are, can be expected to share the enlarged views of our commercial men and cordially to co-operate by suitable measures in a vigorous expansion of the leading facilities of their subjects.

A net of Railways will rapidly develop the commercial intercourse and exchange of produce of provinces, and will thus tend to amalgamate their interests, but it will also effect good by destroying the isolation which fosters the jealousy of distinct jurisdictions. It will inevitably undermine in some degree the attitude of permanent bristling hostility to each other which they now assume and jealously maintain. Still we must not miscalculate the revolutionizing power of Railways, for although their effect may be great in both the above respects, and their influence immense in the general improvement of India, yet it will be long before an entire blending of the constituent parts of this vast and heterogeneous empire can take place. By our treaties and engagements we have conserved and crystallized administrative rights which will endure long after the improved state of intercourse makes the inconvenience of numerous jurisdictions vexatious. It is needless to add that whatever the inconveniences that may hereafter arise, they can only be surmounted by the

voluntary co-operation of the native chiefs with whom our compacts stand; and as our engagements will be observed with scrupulous good faith, it must be the work of time and of an advanced stage of education and civilization before native rulers are likely either to see the necessity or admit the expediency of conforming their laws and system to those of our own provinces. It must on this point be borne in mind that we are ourselves building up, under the general control of a supreme legislature, different minor circles of presidency jurisdictions, each with a rapidly augmenting volume of local laws emanating from them as distinct though subordinate foci of legislation; so that even according to our own example, influenced in practice by a dread of over-centralization, there will be nothing absolutely incongruous in the separate jurisdictions and distinct '*coutumes*' of native states. The immense area of the empire and the dissimilarity of its races will be the best apology for the protracted continuance of such a status; much however will be gained if the broad features of our Civil and Criminal Codes be accepted. To a certain extent this is already the case, for the principles of our jurisprudence and their embodiment in simplified Codes have already to a moderate degree permeated the administration of justice in native states and coloured their practice. Nor is this at all surprising, for as these states have no institutions in which either judicial or revenue officers can obtain the training which can alone qualify for a satisfactory discharge of such duties, their rulers are frequently driven to select their head judicial officers and sometimes their revenue ministers, from the native functionaries who, having served a long apprenticeship in our Courts and Provinces, have as it were graduated in law and revenue systems. Under these circumstances, whatever the extent to which such men may be forced to mould their own views in submission to the traditions and the practice of the executive systems over which they are invited to preside, the principles on which they act are based on their previous training, and the experience they have acquired that its principles were sound and universally applicable. The influence of such men is not wholly transitory. Gradually, though almost imperceptibly, they inoculate with sounder principles the offices into which they are introduced, and bite so to speak into their traditions.

Again, during minorities, the Supreme Government being responsible for the administration of chiefships, the opportunity presents itself for the introduction of wholesome reforms, and of improvements of every kind. Now minorities, as the students of Indian History well know, are not of infrequent

occurrence, and there are few things which after scrutiny prove more creditable to the integrity of the British Government, and to its honour, than the faithful manner in which it discharges its duty as the guardian and protector of its minor feudatories. A great deal depends on these occasions on the wisdom and the administrative ability of its agents, who, in the trust management of such territories, are forced to bear in mind, that, as the administration must revert on the minor coming of age to the machinery which the native ruler will be able to command, the improvements introduced must not surpass the capacity of the instrumentality with which they are ultimately to be worked. Otherwise all will crumble and disappear the moment the strong hand and will of the agent is relaxed. Of course under these conditions great judgment is required, and of a sort which no regulation training can impart, being of a higher order; but it is by thus judiciously taking advantage of opportunities that an impulse is given to the administration of native states which keeps them, if not abreast of, yet not hopelessly lagging behind the advance of improvement around them. It is at such times that the sounder principles of our Civil and Criminal jurisdiction strike root; and that once introduced into practice, and fairly accepted by the people, the attempt to eradicate them arbitrarily becomes both difficult and discreditable. Where the education of the chief is well managed during a minority, he is not likely when he comes to power to be so short-sighted or prejudiced, as to incur the odium of subverting what tends to the content and good will of his subjects. Popularity is something even in native states. There is thus a fair and reasonable prospect, one way and another, of native states being gradually confederated in the acceptance of the broader principles of our judicial system, Civil and Criminal, though there may long remain great diversity in the mode of applying the axioms of jurisprudence thus derived. For a long time to come our Codes may be to native states what the Roman law was to the provinces of France, which did not recognize it as having the force of law, but were governed by their own '*coutumes*.' As the Roman law prevailed in numerous provinces of France and guided the judicial tribunals of these '*pays du droit écrit*,' so in India our own provinces whose tribunals will be guided by our Codes may be regarded as '*les pays du droit écrit*,' whilst the native states will be much in the position of '*les pays coutumiers*,' where, though the civil or Roman law had not the same force as in '*les pays du droit écrit*,' yet it was in a qualified sense the normal law of France, being of that general authority that where the '*coutume*' or common law of the

province was mute, the Roman or civil law, if in point, ruled to the exclusion of the application of the 'coutume' of any other province. A French jurist, speaking of the civil law says, 'Ubi ad subortas lites, et quaestiones nihil provinciali lege cautum est, forensem semper jurisprudentia Romana facit paginam, ad eamque perpetuo, quasi ad sacram ancoram, certissimamque in expediendis controversiis semitam decurritur cum sit certissima quaedam velut amussis ad internoscendum quid aequius, melius; tradit verò de communibus vitæ officiis praecepta quæ alibi non reperias.' In similar terms many a native state, when applying the principles of our Civil and Criminal Codes, will speak of the labours of our jurists long before our system of law is literally accepted as valid in such territories. Practically however there may be brought about sufficient assimilation to prevent any very severe friction or antagonism; and we have an instance in the acceptance of the Thuggee and Dacoitee Department, with its special agency, of an imperial institution stretching the web of its police and informers over native states as well as our own provinces. Indeed it may now be regarded as having its separate machinery and system continued rather with the view of being a connecting link between our own police and that of native states, in order to combined action for the suppression of the widespread fraternities of Thugs and Dacoits, than as intended solely for their extirpation in our own provinces. That has been tolerably well effected in British India as far as Thuggee is concerned, but the seeds of it are rife elsewhere; and its organized bands finding shelter in native states around would soon start upon a fresh career of activity and crime were it not for the vigilance of this exceptional department.

We cannot however shut our eyes to a difficulty which the development of Railways and free and rapid intercourse with different parts of India is certain to raise. The number of European British-born subjects employed in India and traversing it in every direction is already much increased, and will with the advance of Railways be much more so hereafter. The question therefore will soon have to be solved how, with reference to British-born subjects in native states, law can be brought to bear. The way out of this difficulty would be much disembarrassed, provided the imperial supremacy of the Crown in India be accepted as a reality, and the supreme legislature empowered by Parliament be authorized to deal with the question in the manner in which it can alone be competently met; but if there be any shrinking from this position, and a narrowing of the power of legislation for British-born subjects in

deference to subordinate and dependent territorial jurisdictions, treated *pro hac vice* as sovereign and independent, then we foresee very serious impediment to this growing danger being effectually grappled with before an adequate solution come to be forced upon the Home and the Indian Governments by the occurrence of grave events.

We do not feel warranted in prolonging this article by a further digression on the probable future of native states. Every thing will depend on their gradually coalescing, dovetailing as it were with the onward progress of British India. They form a large part of the area of the empire, and enjoy various degrees of capacity for improvement, but no one who has traversed them will deny the fact that they present an immense field for improvement. Aware that some of them lie under great disadvantages as to soil and position, we are not disposed to draw invidious comparisons between our own more favoured provinces and those of native states; at the same time we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there are those among them who enjoy considerable advantages in soil, products, and population, and who nevertheless make but very indifferent use of these favourable circumstances. Some are still inflated with a disproportionate idea of their own importance, and have not yet shaken free from the old Mahratta dream of supremacy. This leads them to waste their means on the maintenance of forces for which they can have no possible use, except as in 1857 to show to the world how entirely unequal they are to control the military mob they collect around them when a crisis arrives. Whilst battenning upon the resources of the state, impoverishing its treasury, and crippling it from useful and reproductive expenditure, armed mobs of the kind here alluded to are a source of weakness rather than of strength, and present a delusive show of force which crumbles at the first touch of conflict; and which, from the instinct of such bodies being a chronic state of hostility to the British Government, have a tendency to compromise their chiefs with the supreme power. Enough for purposes of state, and the enforcement of the authority of the chief in his own territory is all that native Governments can require; and every thing beyond this is a costly, and may prove a ruinous, error.

Mr. Aitchison's prefatory remarks would easily leads us into digressions of a more extended character, but though we are aware that we have done but scant justice to our author, and could follow many other lines of thought which his volumes suggest, we feel that already the patience of our readers must have been unduly taxed by the length at which we have dwelt on points

which, however important in themselves, can scarcely be said to command general interest or to admit of being treated otherwise than in a dry manner. We cannot however part from the author of the *Book of Treaties* without complimenting the competition civilians on this the first fruits of their literary labours. It redounds to the credit of the whole body, and it will be accepted as a happy omen of what may be expected from them. Whilst the old class of civilians probably closed their literary exhibitions with Mr. Muir's valuable work on the life of Mahomed, a work which has most deservedly added to the reputation of Mr. Muir, and is in every respect a worthy legacy from the Haileybury order of civilians, we hail with pleasure the proof afforded by Mr. Aitchison's work that the competition men threaten a most honourable rivalry with their predecessors; and that judging by the first fruits the public may look forward with considerable assurance that the ability and talent which marked the old school will not be found to degenerate with the new.

ART. V.—*Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Indian Accounts, (Gazette of India Extraordinary, 25th October 1864.)*

WHEN we consider how universal is the importance of money and the desire for its possession, it seems strange that nothing is so distasteful to most men as a consideration of the means of preserving it. The manager of a great Joint Stock Bank at home, writing on the Philosophy of Banking, gravely urged, as a great and appreciable proof of its advantages, that by making all payments by cheques, men would be saved keeping accounts, at least of their expenditure. And even men who have advanced so far as to be able to put down their receipts on one side of a sheet and their outlay on the other, regard as a solemn mystery anything like a budget, anything, that is, like an estimate of probable receipts and of fitting expenditure, which may be some check on their manner of living in a coming year; and one friend, who does prepare a domestic budget, is compelled to produce it in his drawing room for the wondering contemplation of his friends, just as he would a photograph of the Princess Alexandra and her baby, or a newly found coin of Apollodotus from Peshawur. And as men are in private life, so are they in public. Code after code of law appears, is mastered and successfully administered; but accounts are looked on as mysterious things to be handled only by the initiated, *i. e.* to put it in district officer's phrase, by his baboos. No doubt there is also a lurking contempt for accounts, as bringing no credit and as having been at times entrusted to men held in small esteem; and certainly the only way to keep district accounts in good order is to make officers feel that well-kept accounts are an essential part of the well being of the empire, and that the reviewing officers are their superiors rather than their inferiors in knowledge and position, and even in breeding. The most simple system will not work itself, and those who have to work it must feel that they are not soiling their fingers by the task. Yet where stewards are so overtaxed as our district by officers, it is of the greatest consequence that their work be made as simple and as light as possible, and any change, though costly, which may secure this, should be welcomed with eagerness.

Twelve months ago there landed in Calcutta two gentlemen skilled in the English system of account, and entertained at great cost to improve the Indian. In the course of the past autumn have appeared two voluminous and able reports, on the military and civil accounts respectively, and that on the Public Works' accounts, to which their first attention was given, though less widely circulated, must be at least as bulky. At present however we have to do with the second of these only, that on the general accounts of the empire. As a good system of account is the greatest stimulant to economy and the best security for its observance, all tax payers every where are concerned in the account system of their own country; so that though even Mr. Gladstone might fail in making it interesting, a paper on such a subject might well be read with attention. And this should pre-eminently be the case in India, where a large proportion of the readers are officials, and a large proportion of the officials more or less closely responsible for the management of the monies of the State.

Sir Charles Trevelyan and his Commissioners however are not the first to attempt to improve the Indian system of account, though the peculiar conditions of the problem, and the necessity of employing in the main unskilled workmen have made the task difficult. Like all systems framed by Englishmen it has been built up bit by bit, the day's needs suggesting, and limiting, the day's advance. Our territories were included in three presidencies, united only in bearing a common allegiance to a distant head; each thus had its own accounts, consolidated with those of other presidencies only in England if at all, its own system, its own rules, its own machinery. Here pre-audit seems to boast an immemorial* (Indian) antiquity, there it is a thing of yesterday; here Collectors cannot tell how they shall get on without a Civil Paymaster, there they mournfully presage such annoyances as they remember his first appointment twenty years ago removed; here the Accountant was a sort of Financial Secretary, there he was only a deputy of a Revenue Board. Nowhere however was any special training provided for, or any special aptitude demanded in, the preparer of the State accounts. Every one was supposed to know all the local rules, and all general principles, of account, just as he was supposed to know all Hindu and Mahomedan law. A Civil Auditor passed away to a district, and a junior succeeded, expecting to hold office for some two years, having a general idea of the rules he had to administer, bearing with more or less content, his ignorance of abstruser points, following on such points with more or less reluctance the guidance of his head assistant, and looking for-

ward eagerly to the time when he should blossom as a full Collector. The case of the Accountant indeed was so far different that he did not necessarily look forward to further promotion, but he had no special knowledge of book-keeping, and was possibly puzzled by finding he might with equal safety* order a man to debit or to credit a certain sum.

Such was the system when the Court, on 17th June 1856, 'called the attention of the Supreme Government to various important questions connected with the comparative condition of the Indian finances, past and prospective, the causes of a continued increase of charge, the most suitable means of reducing the expenditure within the income, and the importance of adopting measures for reframing the Offices of Account at the subordinate presidencies, in order that a succession of officers conversant with the business of Accounts to the higher posts in the Department might be secured, and appointments to vacancies regulated accordingly.' A supply of trained officers could not be secured for a department boasting but two offices; differences of system would have made a skilled accountant from Bengal an ignorant learner in Madras; a local government would be little willing to give to a stranger meat for which a nestling of its own was hungering; and so, after directing that the Bengal system of account be everywhere used, the Supreme Government, with the Court's consent, gathered all the local offices into one department directly subordinate to the Financial office in Calcutta.† The persons employed were to be picked men, chosen by examination after five years' approved service, pledged to serve in the department to the end of their Indian career, liable to be moved from presidency to presidency at intervals of not less than two years, and drawing salaries higher than those of their contemporaries, lest the greater freedom and less cost of country life, and the more interesting labours of a district officer, should render all unwilling to volunteer for the new department. The plan secured to all the most varied experience as disburser, as auditor, as accountant; but the temptations offered were too small to overcome men's objections to the incessant dreary routine of office life, uncheered by the hope of distinction or of any great prize; to the one examination which was held the

* A few years back an officer, with heavy accounts, and fortunately more knowledge of business than most, received instructions from the Accountant, which his head clerk interpreted thus:—'Oh yes, Sir, quite plain, Sir; he say take from credit-debit and put to debit-credit.' The Accountant rejecting an imperfect voucher, instructed the officer to write back the credit he had taken, and again debit himself with the amount.

† *Calcutta Gazette*, 3rd April 1858, p. 611.

whole presidency of Fort William supplied but three candidates, and the demand of preliminary service had to be lowered that the best man might be appointed. This scheme has been formally abandoned for one put forth by Mr. Laing just before his retirement, whereof the practical effect must certainly be that no more covenanted officers will enter the department. Besides their natural unwillingness to serve under men technically of lower rank, they will be deterred by the small prizes set before them; they look to end their service with something more than Rs. 2,000 a month, to be earned by something more pleasant than incessant office work, and in a climate more healthy and a residence more cheap than Calcutta, their chance of obtaining even this small success being materially diminished by the fact that the pension rules of their departmental seniors seem framed almost as if to secure none but death vacancies.

So far, then, the steps gained were three; uniformity of account, training for the accountants, and their close responsibility to the Supreme Government. The importance of the last is less evident than that of the former steps, and may admit of a little explanation. Formerly these officers knew the orders even of the Supreme Government only through, and with the interpretation of, the Local; now those orders are sent to them direct, and they are bound not to accept without reference any questionable construction of the Government to which they are attached. But we may illustrate: three years ago it was whispered that the Punjab Government had allowed an officer 'to take his work' to a hill station a hundred miles from his own bounds, and claimed a power to do so generally; under the former system this must have passed unquestioned, but the Civil Paymaster objecting, as under the present system he was bound to do, the Supreme Government denied that local administrations possessed any such powers.

The system of account made general was that known as the Bengal system. Our plan does not demand, nor our space allow, that we compare this with its earlier rivals; but though it had been perfect, as are mercantile accounts, as a record, it was useless for the first purpose of all good State accounts, for check: it had no Budget. It had indeed its three estimates which nobody trusted, which bound nobody, any one of which might have been a quarter of a million wrong without causing its framer or his government more inconvenience than a temporary discredit, which, in a society so changing as that of India, would have been forgotten only less soon than any distinction he might have gained. The First Report of Mr. Wilson's Budget and Audit Committee of 1861 shows no trace of the estimates ever

having been treated as more than Cash Requirement statements, or of the whole expenditure of the State having been, year by year, subjected to a rigid scrutiny; and rightly says that 'the chief deficiency in the Indian system is the want of a Budget estimate of specific votes or sanctions for each service, and branch of service, for the year, * * *, and the absence of any return by which the progress of expenditure, under the several heads of sanctioned service, can, from time to time, be ascertained in the course of the year.' But, indeed, it needed neither committee, nor commissioners, nor ex-Secretary to the Treasury, to tell people who had resolved to live on what they could afford to spend, not what they would like to spend, that the only plan was to see what could be afforded for each head of expenditure, and to take measures for a continual watch against an outlay of more than the approved amount.

The circumstances of the times invest with a sort of dignity the sonorous truisms which make up a large part of Mr. Wilson's minute of 7th April 1860. He declared his object to be two-fold, to secure that expenditure be prepared by a deliberate sanction, given by one authority after considering the ways and means and the divers projects of the year, and, by Imperial Audit of well prepared 'Imperial Accounts,' to secure that the money granted, and no more, has been expended on the objects approved. As a first step the Anticipation estimate was improved into a Budget estimate, after consideration whereof 'the Supreme Government will allot and appropriate to each branch of the service, and to the several detailed heads within each branch, specific sums.' These allotments were to limit absolutely the expenditure on each head for the year, so absolutely, that though the sudden advent of *locusts* might justify the Punjab Government in offering a reward for their destruction without previous sanction, an application for after-sanction must at once be made; while, as the more terrible visitation of famine was more slow in its advances, no aid could be given to the afflicted people without previous sanction. 'The former liberty of local governments could not co-exist with any 'Imperial Budget' worthy of the name, and it may have been necessary to make them feel the work somewhat sharply at first; but the harshest rules have now been explained away, and reasonable freedom so restored.

To consider how expenditure might best be brought to account, with a comparison at every stage between grant and outlay culminating in the 'Appropriation Audit' of the 'Imperial Books,' a well-chosen committee was appointed with most definite instructions. It is not necessary for present purpose to trace it through its ten reports, from that of 30th July 1860 con-

trasting the rival systems, to that of 18th January 1861, detailing the duties of the Auditor-General. Suffice it to say that the complicated array of returns which it required to be furnished by the Deputy Auditor-General, gave little hope that arrears would be avoided for the future, not to say that existing arrears could be brought up; and its provision that the balance of the grants of a year should be held for twelve months available to meet outstanding charges made any 'Appropriation Audit' worth naming, and any final balancing of expenditure against grant, impossible till the close of another year. But when one reads the committee's recommendation to assimilate the Indian system ('which does actually possess many advantages similar to those possessed by the English practice) 'in principle to the English system, once for all, so that India 'may in future possess a financial system which will be admitted to be theoretically and practically perfect,' one remembers with a little amusement that one part of this system did not continue in use a year, and that, after several intermediate changes of importance, Sir Charles Trevelyan and his Commissioners propose to improve the whole off the face of the earth.

For so far at least extends the improvement proposed by the Commissioners. Though not prepared to acknowledge their scheme to be in every point new, or to hold all their principles sound, all their proposals wise, or all their remarks in good taste, no reader of the report under review will deny to its authors credit for either care or ability. Too much may be made of visits to mofussil offices; the short time allowed may have made those visits of use only in name. The tone of some passages may argue a foregone conclusion, and betray the hand of the advocate rather than the judge; we may instance statements made without hint of verification, or their dainty joke that there is as much to be said for two pre-audits as for one. The general principles, too, which they have laid down, may not be accepted by all, but none will deny that they had set before themselves a definite goal, and had a clear conception of the steps whereby that end might possibly be attained. But we doubt much whether the simplicity they desire would be in every way profitable. To say nothing here of the proposal to have district accounts unclassified, is the jealousy between governments, which is said to be fostered by inter-governmental adjustments, wholly or chiefly injurious? Surely a Governor may take a legitimate pride in seeing that his province is cheaply managed, and the only practicable test of cheapness herein is comparison with the cost at which like results are obtained elsewhere. And the knowledge that his charges are subjected to

hostile criticism would probably make a Governor scrutinise them himself with almost hostile eyes. Sir Bartle Frere's minute on the cost of the Punjab administration was unfair, for it charged against a local government the cost of the imperial reserve, but it showed that all did not see with the same eyes as the writers of Punjab Reports. Indeed, if any Governor should find that his revenue does not cover his civil charge, and also pay for such part of the army as might be regarded as the necessary internal garrison of his province, he should ask himself on what ground, political or military, would he justify its retention, and might well doubt whether his scheme of administration, in being too costly for his finances, was not self-condemned as more costly than his rude people required. And it is so easy to bring admirable reasons for isolated increases of expenditure, that the cost of administration cannot be tested by arguments justifying its details, but only by detailing and comparing the cost of like administration elsewhere. Experience shows that as a favourite district will have a succession of picked officers, and as the cry of such men for increased establishments is more likely to be listened to, a favourite district will have a stronger staff than a less favoured one; such applications thus should be judged by comparison with the staff, which is held sufficient for presumably equal work elsewhere; and, in like manner, a Governor should compare his own police and other establishments with those having the like charge in other provinces. Honourable emulation between Governments, indeed, is probably one of the strongest incentives to economy as to every other improvement, and though troublesome monthly cross-adjustments may be, and are, bad from an Accountant's point of view, any change likely to destroy such emulation is bad from a higher point of view; and should certainly not be made. The adjustment may be annual and need not be detailed, but it should certainly be made, and a government should be charged with estimating for all money to be expended for it, and not merely what it will spend on its own account within its own bounds.

Again, in removing 'Allowances, Refunds, and Drawbacks' from their present place in the government accounts, the Commissioners have followed a false principle. One may note in passing how bewildering such a change would be to a person who thought there was one acknowledged principle of account, and remembered how carefully it has of late years been laid down that any entry of net charges or net receipts is a blunder as a matter of account. The fact is, wherever the payment and the refund are so far separated, in time or place, as to make the two operations two transactions, both should be distinctly shown.

And this is more necessary where the refund is made not under the operation of general rules, but under special orders, and where therefore the fact of payment must be distinctly recorded against those orders. If a drawback be paid in Calcutta on Shahjehanpore rum exported after paying a duty in the North-West Provinces, the Abkari accounts in Calcutta would only be confused by deducting the amount so paid from the actual receipts, instead of showing it as a payment; and if Land Revenue be refunded by order of the Revenue Board, to show only net receipts in a district would risk a double refund which the Accountant could not check, and would make less easy comparison between the gross demand and the money received on account of that demand. Gross receipts* and all payments should still be shown in local books, though only the net receipts appear in imperial books; and gross demand should be given in the estimate of receipts opposite to charges, which will diminish the receipts, though a grant be assigned only to balance the budget.

Again the Commissioners would make the accounts merely accounts, leaving comparisons and accurate distributions of charge, as of the pay of an officer serving several departments to statistical returns. But, to ensure economy, such statistical returns should be prepared at regular and not distant intervals, and should be open to easy check. The great beauty of the budget estimate is that it is in itself roughly such a statistical return, comparing yearly the proposed strengths and cost of an establishment with that already existing, the receipts expected for a coming year with those expected in a former. Many returns now sent to the Accountant† may better find room on the shelves of another office, but the accounts should certainly not be simplified to an extent which would make them useless either as a foundation for, or a check on, such returns. Nor should simplicity be purchased by an inaccurate entry of the real cause of the receipt or charge shown.

By far the most important statistical return is, as has just been said, the budget estimate, but distribution in the budget demands distribution in the monthly accounts. And as the pay of

* According to the common system of Book-keeping, a tradesman allowing discount to a person with whom he had a running account, would show in his ledger the discount as a cash receipt.

† Let us note, once for all, that we have used the title of Accountant to denote the officer so called till Mr. Wilson's Committee elaborated it into Deputy Auditor and Accountant-General. The present Commissioners would call him Accountant-General, the present Accountant-General being called Controller-General.

district officers is to be distributed under two heads, there cannot be so many others serving two departments that to gain accuracy in detailing charge any great trouble would be caused. Nor for sufficient distribution of receipts would that marvellous return of income tax in eighty columns be wanted; it might indeed be filed in the district office, but as the Income tax demand is variable year by year, nothing is gained by showing the year for which payment is made; though as Land Revenue is a fixed demand recurring yearly, and as the Revenue Board must look to it that the gross demand is realized, receipts under this head should be shown as for past, current, or coming years.

At the same time the Commissioners have hit many terrible blots. To say nothing of arrears of years in the bringing up of accounts, a fault destructive to the usefulness of any set of accounts, differences of classification have been permitted which render the compilation of imperial books almost impossible. Accounts which should, though prepared by different departments, have corresponded, differed, in one case, as much as thirty-two lacs, in another eighteen. Large sums stand long as remittances between departments, which are really disputed accounts, in adjusting which the more speed should have been made, because they were disputed. There much labour has been wasted, not to the same extent, be it observed, or in the same way in every office, nor generally through observance of existing rules. The Land Revenue paid was of course credited to Land Revenue and debited to 'Collector,' but it furthermore appears in three utterly useless ledger accounts, while the seven processes, through which alone the unfortunate holder of an audited bill in Calcutta was able to get cash in exchange, were admirably adapted to drive every one to the arms of an agent.*

Again the Commissioners complain that many trifling accounts are kept open too long: one return shows claims against government which have been outstanding for nearly half a century, and another a score of balances, each less than one anna, carried forward from year to year. They complain, too, that cash accounts, and stock and store accounts are mixed up, to great confusion and no profit; the manufacturing departments, even more than others, would gain by not having to translate their stock and their produce into Rupees, Annas,

* For all that appears however a person wishing to cash a merchant's cheque would have to go through most of these processes. The attempt to make the Banks accountants as well as bankers, is well exemplified by the Commissioners' detail of these processes. The change has increased labour, not even saving that of the Treasury Officer, and, in the case of the Calcutta Collector, has facilitated fraud.

and Pies for entry in their books, and the goods manufactured or imported would be as safe from misappropriation if their issue were proved by an unpriced receipt as if cash were paid to be in part refunded if the property should ever be returned. Then they complain generally of insufficient check both of receipts and payments. The essence of a good system of account is of course such cross check as shall render impossible errors either of fraud or accident; and where the immediate charge of the cash box is left to men so poorly paid as our native establishments, such check is specially necessary. Yet existing check is really more efficient than they think. 'Interest on a Government Promissory Note may be paid twice, for the gross interest paid is reported to one officer, and the details of the notes on which it has been paid to another;' of course the detailed return might go with the abstract for examination, so being sent to the Accountant-General through the Local Accountant; but somebody must be trusted, and there is surely little risk in trusting the treasury officer, who is either a covenanted officer or a person who has won a good position by steady and honourable service, and who pays no interest without examining the note itself with its entries of payments. 'Cash once lodged in the government coffers is left unexamined.' Without denying that such deposits have not always been safe, by the nature of the case there is no room for fraud, but under most peculiar circumstances against which no frequent examination would avail. The person primarily responsible is the treasurer, a wealthy banker or merchant who has lodged heavy security, who therefore, to that extent at least, could not be a gainer, and who, were any monies missing, would be liable to trial for embezzlement. Again the money is kept in chests of moderate size, and if a common practice of exhausting one chest before touching another, and never placing receipts in the chest whence money for disbursement is being drawn, be followed, the same coin can never lie long; it is verified by remittance or expense. Coin is abundantly examined before it passes into the coffers of the State; access to it there is obtained only through the joint action of two officers between whom it is impossible to suspect complicity; when, after a longer or a shorter rest, it again issues, it is examined by other and hostile eyes: so that the risk from fraud to money once lodged in those double locked chests, seems inappreciable. How its passage into and out of those chests is recorded and checked, makes up the story of district accounts, whereto we must give minute attention after saying a word or two of certain departments of which the Commissioners have made separate mention.

The Calcutta Stamp Department supplies stamps to the whole of the vast presidency of Fort William. The Bengal Accountant was formerly able to check the superintendent's accounts, because issues to sub-presidencies were made through him; this check would be restored were the other Accountants, when remittance of stamps had been credited in their accounts, to advise the Bengal Accountant. Stamps are supplied in three ways; adhesive stamps are imported ready for issue; water-marked paper is imported from home, whereon the necessary impressions are made here; and legal documents and mercantile forms are sent by their owners to be stamped.

The place whence the first class are supplied is so distant, and check on their manufacture there and issue here so easy, that fraud in their issue need scarcely be anticipated; on the other hand there is room to fear they may be used twice. The water-marked paper supplied for the second class comes in reams which are found by experience not always to contain the same number of sheets; the excess it is said may be abstracted, but how is deficiency accounted for when there are less than the proper number of sheets? The proper plan evidently is to have the needful counting finished where there is no chance of a fraudulent miscount; and to have the counted sheets put up in closed covers large enough to be treated as bundles, and made over to the pressman unopened. So long as we superstitiously insist on using hand-made paper with its four rough edges and its varying thickness, there is no help for it but to count the paper leaf by leaf; but there is surely no reason why we should not use machine-made. A paper maker would undertake to make paper of any quality of any breadth in bands of almost any length, with a water-mark of any pattern recurring any number of times in the length of the band, and finally to fold that band into any number of exactly equal lengths; the office of check at home would receive the folded band with a wrapper pasted round it one way, would examine only the two rough ends, and then trimming the folded band with a cutting press, and sealing down a transverse wrapper, would be perfectly certain that it had made ready for shipment ten or a hundred sheets whether for judicial stamps or currency notes. The examiner in India would only have to see that the seal was unbroken, and so with little labour and no large establishment of counters it would be easy to check the store of water-marked paper, whether on receipt or at any later time. The third class of stamps are not all of one kind; it may be impossible to refuse to stamp executed documents, but it is fair to exact a fine for granting the stamp; but there can be no reason why mercantile forms should claim to be stamped at

any risk to the Government revenue. If the risk be, as one would conclude from the rules, that two papers may get stamped at one blow, an easy remedy would be to arrange that the impression be in part coloured; if that the department may stamp more documents than are shown in the accounts, an adhesive stamp might be attached in the Financial Department instead of a counterstamp. If the supineness of Collectors allow frauds in the Mofussil, the persons in fault might, under existing rules, be compelled to pay; and though a sufferer would of course be very angry, it would be a very good thing once to enforce the rule. If the signature of the stamp vendor is no protection to the revenue, it is as little to the public; a man wishing to commit a forgery can always get a stamp of any required date by paying a market price; in the house of a man reputed to be respectable, in a search for treasonable papers, between forty and fifty stamped papers were found, some of the earliest issue, as complete as dates and endorsements could make them.

Although the opium of the Calcutta sales is grown in the whole valley of the Ganges, the department is subject only to the Government of the Lower Provinces. The system is an instructive contrast to that on which indigo is grown in Lower Bengal, as on receiving his advance the peasant engages to cultivate such an area, and an agent, visiting his fields when under crop, fixes approximately the amount of raw drug to be delivered. The sums so advanced are enormous, and proportionate are the cash balances of the agents; it is not easy to see why these officers could not be allowed, instead of treasuries, letters of credit on the Collectors. The agents consolidate the accounts of their subordinates in a monthly cash account for the accountant, to whom they also submit a quarterly store account, and, strangely enough, an annual account of the nature of a general report, showing among other things the consistency of the drug; the accountant can do nothing with such a paper, but check the reported issues by the quarterly store account. These issues are managed strangely; the agent credits himself with the value of the drug at a fixed rate, and the Collector shows a like amount as having been paid, and, on selling it at the higher retail price, debits himself with the sum received; these entries of imaginary remittances are rightly said to be unnecessary, and there is no reason why opium should not be dealt with as stamps are, the supplies being shown as stores, and the value nowhere credited till the actual cash has been received.

Little need be said of the Sea Customs department. The chief complaints are that Appraisers are too much trusted, that pilot-

age accounts are too little checked, that double accounts are kept, and that some proceedings may be simplified; as an instance of the last is detailed the process through which rewards to informers are paid and charged in the accounts; these payments are among the many over which the Civil Paymaster has but a formal check. Nor need much be said of the Mint; bullion in store is said not to be checked often enough, but from the nature of the case its check is difficult, as not quantity only, but quality also has to be verified; by making Mint certificates* payable at sight, an unnecessary advantage is given to importers, and, as was shown in Sir Charles Trevelyan's gold minute, an unnecessary risk thrown on the State, but a change of rule demands a prior change of the paper currency law.—The position of the Mint-master as Currency Commissioner, is exactly parallel to that of the Superintendent of Stamps.

Certain general acts of Government too lend to it a semi-commercial character. It acts as a banker, for it receives certain deposits and makes certain remittances, and as an agent, for it guarantees to certain persons that certain payments shall be made on their accounts. Speaking generally, we may say that this character might, with advantage to the State, be wholly laid aside; yielding to the necessities of its position,† it has, ever unwillingly, accepted deposits, often issuing to its servants strict injunctions to place as few sums in deposit as possible. The head is too convenient, like the sundries of a school-boy's cash book, and may be suspected to cover many of those secret funds the wealth of which Mr. Thomason is said to have regarded as a test of the efficiency of a Collector, and which will never cease to exist till Collectors can be made to see that they are guilty of criminal breach of trust in incur-

* Judging from the Mint returns of 1862-3 this grant of certificates payable at sight, on assay of bullion, causes a loss of ten lacs a year. From the same returns the seignorage, at two per cent., seems to yield twenty lacs, or seventeen and a half lacs net. English seignorage is six per cent., and the Indian is rather a moderate charge for cost of manufacture. The bullion merchant has no exceptional claim to consideration that his import only should be sold at once without being put into a shape to suit his market. The question is simply, who shall pay interest on the value of his raw material while it is being manufactured, for he may have the out-turns of his own bullion in coin on a certain day if he please to import it sooner. At the same time of course he may fairly demand that due care be taken to avoid needless delay, and probably the best plan would be to make the mint certificate payable a fixed number of days after date.

† Of course our remarks on deposits bear no reference to the Saving's Bank, which Government founded in the first instance for the benefit of all its servants.

ring an outlay, though it seem to them never so necessary, for which sanction has not been, and is not likely to be, obtained. These accounts too leave most room for, and most temptation to, fraud; no labour is more simple than that of keeping them while up to date, but this very simplicity makes them most likely to be laid aside in any sudden pressure; while the drudgery and difficulty of setting them right when fallen into arrear can scarcely be conceived. But it is not easy to see how showing deposits in a personal ledger would simplify or improve matters, while the nature of the case makes the proposed charge or deposits improper. If indeed monies paid into court stand in deposit by the carelessness of the decree-holder, a fine might be exacted from him; but how of the many sums impounded by government as guardian of law? The action of the Court of Directors in forbidding consolidation was an undoubted mistake; but beyond consolidating old, and crediting petty items, the present system can be improved only by making no part payments; if for any reason it be impossible to repay the whole of a deposit at once, the balance should be treated as a new deposit.

As a remitter government uses three instruments; money orders, bills of exchange, and specie. The grant of the first of these, on the English plan, is one of the few businesses in which the State can with advantage engage; it so affords to its subjects, at a low rate, a convenience which possibly they could not otherwise obtain at all. Simple as is the business, one purely of remittance, to be accounted for, the accounts of the Bengal office seem to have been evolved from the moral consciousness of the late controller; but check would probably be easier if there were three fixed charges, as in England, instead of an accurate percentage. Again instruments in use of the nature of bills of exchange are three, public and private transfer receipts, and supply bills, or bills of exchange proper. The first are of course objectionable as giving trouble in treasuries, and the prohibition of cash payments between departments must largely diminish their number; whether proportionate labour will be saved or any other advantage gained is doubtful. It is necessary to secure that every debit have a corresponding credit in some other account; but while the remittance by service receipt secured that the adjustment had been made and the charge noted against the head of service to which it properly pertained, it may now become necessary to write for detail of the date, the account, and the head of charge. For the second little can be said; the rules for the grant of privilege transfer receipts are not equal; while, for instance, Bombay can draw them on the Punjab, Bengal cannot; they are costly to the State, as in the

instance just given; they cause much trouble, and afford to government servants an unnecessary convenience which they unduly prize. Still, though they should be granted more freely in the ruder than in the more civilized districts, they should nowhere be wholly refused; month by month every officer might obtain one for any fund subscriptions he has to pay, and one for general remittances to the head-quarters of his Presidency; and when removed to a new station might obtain one drawn by his old treasury on his new one, and a moderate number at his new station drawn on the treasury of his old. The third class are a substitute for specie remittances, and are granted only when by their means a distant treasury can be more easily and cheaply replenished.

Lastly Government acts as an agent in making and banking certain provident deductions from the salaries of certain servants. In the case of the Uncovenanted Service Fund there is less to object to, as the contribution is voluntary, and could be remitted by the payer by means of a privilege transfer receipt: but the case of those funds to which men are compelled to subscribe is different, and Government can only be wholly rid of its connection with them by guaranteeing certain allowances on its own part, and leaving men to manage their own affairs. There is too much of this parliamentary prudence, and the objections to such a plan become specially strong when, to the grumbles of the careless, who had rather spend than save, are added those of the provident man who thinks the investment bad. Thus for instance think most of those civilians, who think at all of the matter, of their Annuity Fund, and Government might well rid itself of embarrassment by letting those who wish cease to be burdened on that account.

Before passing to the general question of forms of account, the Commissioners speak separately of accounts of receipts. Their general complaint is that all that is received may not be credited, and that the Accountant can only see that what is credited is credited to the right head. And their complaint is true even of land revenue, the receipts of which alone they think the Accountant can check; for though he may see that what the State demands is credited to the State, he cannot say that the numerous grades of underlings have not each been gratified by the ultimate atoms whereof the State consists. And surely this is a question of the goodness of the general administration, rather than of the financial, least of all of account. They say that in Russia every rouble paid into the treasury represents fifty swallowed by the men who gathered it, and that some are

not sure that the Czar himself does not 'take;' but the Russian system of account may be as good as that of a country where even railway porters refuse presents, and there are omnipresent Audit boards to which school-boys submit vouched cash accounts of their weekly shillings and store accounts of donated marbles. The fact is you must trust some body; you cannot make a man honest by Act of Parliament; and in a country where even tell-tale presses cannot be trusted, you must put up with such honesty as can bear so hot a sun. The machinery of demand notes and counterfeit receipts numbered like bills of exchange, is probably the best that can be devised; it should make fraud very unprofitable, by making the sharers in its proceeds many, and in many cases absolutely impossible. But one fears that a demand note would represent so many pice paid to the writer. Whatever be the paper tendered with cash, the treasurer should sign and number it, and not file it as the Commissioners propose, but pass it on to the department it concerns, giving in exchange a receipt, the particulars of which would be noted on the counterfoil; from this counterfoils these receipt ledger would be posted, and the necessity for keeping the series of numbers unbroken would prevent the suppression of a receipt altogether; the necessity of filling the counterfoil up at once would prevent any well considered less-entry, and the departmental accounts should be a further check. By filing the demand note, or like paper, in the department, fraudulent alteration would be prevented, due credit would be given to the payer,* a certain voucher would be available if refund were necessary, and the file of a case would often be completed; if a magistrate fine a man, the receipted demand note would complete the case just as the endorsed warrant of imprisonment does. To take a case in illustration. The Income Tax Daroga of paragraphs 95,96 would have to account for a certain number of tax papers; when remitting money he would advise his chief, who would presently receive and file the detailed invoice covering the remittance; at the end of the month the darogah's accounts would reach his chief vouched by the treasurer's or tehsildar's receipts, exchanged for the invoiced coin; the departmental monthly accounts prepared from the invoices should agree with these separate ones and also with the Collector's books; so many people would be concerned and of so different interests, that fraud would be difficult and unprofitable, and besides there would be little time to 'cook' such returns. And the details

* If money were paid into a suddar, instead of a tehseel, treasury, the same paper would be passed on as advice to the tehseeldar.

of the invoices need not pass into the accounts, they might be so framed as to give any information which might be wanted for statistical purposes; and even to rival the Commissioner's favourite return in eighty columns.

But whatever may be the plan of checking and accounting for receipts, the most important part of the Commissioner's report concerns the check and account of expenditure, and the most important question is that of pre-audit. To the Commissioners pre-audit is only a nuisance to be abated; to the typical Civil Paymaster it is what the Revolution of '88 is to Earl Russell; and both are equally wide of the truth. Its advantages are wholly practical. By its abolition 'responsibility will be 'made to fall on those who should bear it;' but who are these? Collectors with fifty other businesses at least as important, each ruling a district as large as half a dozen of our little colonies in the West Indies, with interests as various and revenue far greater. Pre-audit is nowhere part of the original plan of account, but as a distinct officer's labour became more complex, when to the original labour of collection only were added those of settlement and police charge, as the closer organization of the Government service made more numerous the cases which were met by special rules, an officer was appointed who might be the professional adviser of all district officers, on all matters of rule. It may be that in course of time officers may have placed too much dependence on this adviser; it may be that rules may admit of simplification; but an assertion that both evils are now at the worst seems a strange prelude to a recommendation to take away the professional advice. That medical science is abstruse, that disease is rife, and that people trust doctors, would make up a strange argument for the dismissal of doctors. That 'in 'cases of doubt or difficulty reference can be made to head-quarters,' is not the panacea the Commissioners seem to think; the very cases in which most doubt should be felt are such as to give some underling an interest in concealing their weak points, and the violent contests with Civil Paymasters show that the common form of ignorance is for a man not to know what he thinks he knows well. That the Collector is not banker merely, but accountant to other independent officers, does not make the case simpler; he is safe when he only pays on audited bills, but if a payment he may have made on the demand of a judge be held improper, how shall he adjust his accounts? It is easy to say the judge will refund it on demand, but the judge may not be prepared to confess that he was wrong; and though there were no possibility of this kind, the experience of military paymasters does not show cash recoveries to be easy. If it come to

counting experiences, set against the clean swept Post Office, the Telegraph Department accumulating in two years of post audit, outstanding accounts which it showed as six lacs, and the Accountant-General as twenty-four, and against Burmah set a case (and there is no need to name one) where accounts have been closed practically without audit, really because vouchers could not be found for audit. But indeed there is no need to argue the question of principle; the Commissioners concede that pre-audit is advantageous, that the check of an independent officer, chiefly learned in rules, over unpaid bills is beneficial, and so for Calcutta, where establishments are so large that each might afford an accountant with pay rules at his finger ends, where labour is so divided that no establishment could be concerned with all the rules, they provide an Examiner of Claims, who shall be for the Presidency Town just what the Civil Paymaster was, save that instead of passing a bill he shall give a cheque. Let us hope that the effect of this mighty change will be seen in the speedy clearance of the lamented eighteen months' arrears.

Still the principle is a sound one that the disbursing officer should be responsible for his disbursements, more able to contest a disallowance with the Accountant than willing to seek for the guidance of the Civil Paymaster. And without debating whether existing rules are such an undigested mass as to defy the study of any but Civil Paymasters, we may assume that they are practically unknown even to those who are made Treasury officers because fit for nothing else. The case too is the harder that no one quite knows where rules are to be found. No Presidency in India has a manual of pay rules whose authority is acknowledged. There is that most useful compilation by Mr. Eede, carefully prepared and almost exhaustive, accepted by most governments, but rejected by the Supreme, but its arrangement might be improved, and it is already half obsolete. This indeed is the main difficulty, which has kept the Military Pay and Audit Regulations a dozen years in hand, that a code is superseded even while it is being prepared. District officers are not advised of changes as they are made, and though they were would probably be unable to keep their manuals fully corrected; even Civil Paymasters do not seem to be always informed of all orders affecting as precedents, the rules they have to administer. Before making busy men personally responsible for administering a code, care should be taken if not that they know its rules, at all events that they know where to find them, and further that any change be at once notified to all. Therefore a code, rather than a digest, should be prepared on such a plan that general rules, constructions, and precedents

might be distinguished at a glance, and entrusted to a single officer through whose hands all correspondence might pass, that he might report the effect on any clause of any new order, and at frequent intervals circulate pages of corrected rules. As he might well be legal adviser and be charged with submitting, with all references, reports on existing rules and recommendations touching change, he would need to be closely connected with the Financial Secretariat, and his practical knowledge of the effect of every existing rule should be kept alive by his being somewhere charged with the checking claims before their admission in account. With such a manual, so authoritatively corrected up to date, one great objection to the abolition of pre-audit would be removed.

But the maintenance of pre-audit is not synonymous with the maintenance of Civil Paymasterships. A Civil Paymaster's duties stated briefly are (1) to audit bills; (2) to check expenditure by budget grants; (3) to report on claims to pension and leave; and (4) to furnish a general report on expenditure. The second of these duties was of course the child of the budget system, and has so far dwindled from its early threatening greatness that it gives no power and involves no responsibility, beyond that of advising the Accountant, what he should know still better, that a grant seems likely to be exhausted. For the third the name of Civil Paymaster has no magic power; the report cannot be spared, but is prepared from records, some of which must be kept by the Accountant that he may be able to audit charges, and the rest may be sent to him just as well as to the Civil Paymasters. The last too is compiled from records, and, if any Government ever used it, might continue to be furnished by the officer in whose hands the records might be. A careful examination of claims after the fashion of pre-audit will always have to be made, if after payment, yet before they can be admitted in account, by an independent officer of rank, or by the Accountant himself, himself, that is, giving such superintendence as is now demanded from the Civil Paymaster. Would it not be possible so to arrange as to get the benefits of pre-audit without its delays, and without fear of the needless double work which the Commissioners deplore? We hold that, were the number of Accountants moderately increased, it would be possible to maintain pre-audit for all charges really requiring it, till the new code had made rules so familiar that pre-audit could be spared altogether.

Two kinds of charges are audited by the Civil Paymaster; when dealing with one he has to see that it is a proper one, with the other only that it has not been paid before. Audit of

the latter is mechanical, and requires comparatively little supervision; such charges are rewards, special grants made once for all, which have only to be marked off on their orders, and pensions which are paid before audit on the production of descriptive rolls, a process so like that of payment on permanent orders that the only change would be that the checking, not the paying, officer would grant the general authority to pay,—an arrangement the more reasonable that the former knows better the date from which payment should commence. Such charges do not need pre-audit. In the class of charges requiring check, are numbered the pay of gazetted officers, of their establishments, and their variable charges. Every movement of gazetted officers is publicly notified, and must be noted by the officer checking the accounts; there is no fear of improper deduction from their pay, of improper redistribution of it, or improper expenditure of any savings from it. So there would be no risk in paying them on orders current for a year; and as on transfer they could draw pay at their new station only after the Accountant, advised of their arrival, had sent the counter-foil received from the old district, duly endorsed, such a plan would certainly not risk that transfers of charge would be left unreported. One absent on leave indeed might draw pay against rule, but the district officer would be running against what would doubtless be the plain letter of the pay order, and so could not pretend to be hardly used if compelled to refund; or a man might draw pay though he had been absent without leave; but if his morality be so low that he will skulk from work for which he is paid, and he be so determined to eat his cake and have it, to take a holiday which he cannot claim and then to demand one which the rules give only to workers, pre-audit has little power to keep him honest. Gazetted officers might be paid on permanent orders, payment being marked off on the Accountant's books as pension payments are; and without the charge for gazetted officers, most office bills become so simple that there need be little delay in their audit. For the system of permanent orders should not be extended to ministerial officers.* There is need to check the payments claimed against leave only notified by the payer; there is temptation, to which some are said to yield,

* It is worth noting that the delays which the Commissioners charge to Civil Paymasters would not be prevented by the widest use of permanent orders; in the two cases they especially name, the permanent order would have been refused. Whatever would justify a Civil Paymaster in refusing audit, would justify an Accountant in refusing the permanent order.

to make arrangements convenient rather than regular; to issue many little permanent orders would multiply little charges in account and might diminish an officer's power, just as one general order might increase it. Complaint indeed is made that under the present system the pay of absentees lies in deposit; this apparently must be the case were pay drawn on one standing order; but in many places the pay of a man absent on leave would not even be shown in the bill, till he had returned and cried out for it. So bills for the pay of establishments should be pre-audited as well as those for variable charges. The Commissioners have great faith in the signatures and countersignatures of high officers. They quote an opinion, recorded by a Committee little likely, as they truly say, to be prejudiced against pre-audit, to the effect that the check of the countersigning officer may be far more effectual than that of the Civil Paymaster, nor is it possible to doubt the fact; the Civil Paymaster in checking a countersigned bill *ought* to have nothing to do but to check calculations. But does an average Commissioner of Division check the bills he countersigns at all? Renewing charges may be moderate or immoderate according as small or large charges on the same accounts have been passed in earlier months; an outlay which does not seem large may really be much larger than is found necessary elsewhere: countersignature then to have any value should be given after comparison with the charges of other months and other districts, and so should be recorded in detail in a general register: does our average Commissioner keep any record at all of the bills he countersigns? He specially has to vouch for the propriety of charges, and, therefore, if a questionable one be made, should refer it, demand explanation, and see that explanation is sent on with the bill; does he ask any questions; and if questions be asked of him, can he answer them? nay, does he do more than pass them on to the district officer and pass the answer back, without a word of comment, to the questioner? He should be the guardian of the public purse; does he, for instance, charitably throw on the State charges which in neighbouring stations are paid from charitable funds? Is, in short, the check of an inexperienced Civil Paymaster the only check *

* We can vouch for one instance of countersignature which is worth detailing. According to rules in force in a certain province, an officer annexed to his tentage bill a detail of stages which he totalled, showing himself to have travelled seventy-one miles in the course of nine marches and five halts and then claimed tentage for fourteen days; instead of signing a formal certificate that the officer was entitled to tentage for fourteen days, the Commissioner countersigned the bill for Rupees 71-9-5.

which most contingent bills get? 'No charge once countersigned is ever finally rejected', say the Commissioners; a Civil Paymaster's report on the fact and his explanation of such part of it as he admitted might be instructive. We therefore hold decidedly that pre-audit cannot yet be abolished, though it need not be demanded for many charges which now receive it, and hold too that had each Accountant but the accounts of one Government with proper support, he would be as well able to give pre-audit as post-audit to the charge for which he must account. But it would be better to bring audit nearer still by giving two Accountants to one Government than in any way to weaken desirable check; and this would be no more costly than the Commissioners' most objectionable plan of giving every Accountant a shadow. Officers are said now to be getting too fond of leaving their offices for months, from some fancy for being near the head of the Government; such a disease would only be stimulated by the appointment of a deputy of equal rank, when it should rather be cured by rendering impossible the absence, on any pretence, of the head of the office for a whole month at a time.

The gravest objection remains to be noticed, that the demand of pre-audit implies the possibility of expenditure without audit, of which the fruit is delay in adjustment and discrepant accounts of approved and of actual expenditure, 'expenditure passes into 'the unadjusted column of the monthly Accounts Current, and, 'as the adjustments are made on a separate statement, and not 'in the account itself, the expenditure remains in the unadjusted 'column, so that an annual account prepared from the twelve 'monthly Accounts Current would be entirely incorrect.' No objection could be more serious, though the very remedy the Commissioners seem to propose proves that pre-audit is not the cause of the disease. Apparently they would re-introduce the old inefficient balance system under the name of Advances Recoverable, so that a charge would pass into the accounts not when it was paid, but when formal vouchers could be furnished. Certain officers are to have the power of drawing on the treasury, but the issues on their demands are to be made on their responsibility (though the inexperienced Treasury officer may ask for instructions if he think a demand preposterous,) and charged, if the vouchers be not satisfactory, not to the proper budget head but 'to Advances Recoverable.' No items need be allowed to stay long under this head; under no system could there be any reason why, if not adjusted in three months, it should not be recovered in cash. 'The Collector might recover such an item from the Judge, 'but would he himself refund?' Of course when a man has

the actual custody of money, he is likely to allow to himself more latitude than he will to others; but if he choose to please himself, he must be brought to his own senses by suspension or penal transfer, by some process which will show every one that account rules are not merely decorative, but have to be obeyed like others. Such action might be unpopular, but if it be necessary it should certainly not be spared, though 'one of our best officers' have to be the victim, for a man who thinks he is held in esteem is likely to be the most insolently indifferent to all departmental rule, as such men have been found, at times, to all positive law. But care should be taken to make the entries under this head as far as possible, lest it become as unmanageable as 'Deposits;' and with this intent every office should be allowed a small permanent advance, about enough to cover its monthly contingent charges; an officer taking charge would claim the whole of this in cash or approved vouchers from his predecessor. The amount standing under 'Advances Recoverable' would vary so little from time to time that there would be no account objection to accepting the adjusted item of a year as representing its actual outlay; only we protest against the pretence that to change a name is to invent a new system, or to build up any argument against an old one.

Though the Commissioners have not generally overlooked any weak point in the present system, the limitation of their enquiries to Bengal has concealed from them an important one. They propose certain changes in arrangement for the estimates, but ask nothing about the way in which they are at present prepared. In the first instance of course they are prepared by the heads of offices, in the second by the Accountant; but how does the latter obtain his materials, and what is his responsibility? Under one Government they are examined and consolidated by the head of the department, and pass with his approval to the Accountant, under another they are sent to that officer direct: under one Government he uses the materials sent merely as guides, under another he merely compiles from them; in the one case the budget is his, though the Local Government may, if it please, prefer the departmental estimate; in the other the budget is departmental, though the Local Government may insert the Accountant's figures if convinced by his arguments. Such important differences of custom and principle should never have existed, and the plan now proposed seems in every way good; the Accountant in consultation with representative heads of departments, with the head of the Government for moderator if opinions differ, shall prepare for the Supreme Government esti-

mates representing the views of the Local Administration. These estimates should, of course, be in a form which will give plainly exactly as much information as is wanted by the Financial Department; and as a return from which to compile, leaving the reasons for every step plain, it would not be easy to improve the present budget form.

The rough estimates are to be prepared by the same persons as at present, save in one instance; those of Superannuation Pensions are to be prepared by the heads of departments instead of the auditor. The change is a mistake, for surely the estimates for all pensions should be prepared, or revised, by one person, and he the one who with least trouble is sure to be best advised of lapses. Nor is there any reason why a department, or even a Government, should watch its worn-out servants; the pension rules for all being the same, the charge of the superannuated will bear one fixed proportion to that of the effective establishment. The feverish jungles of Raipoor will have no heavier proportionate pension charge than the healthy uplands of Saugor; if they gave more retirements, they would give shorter lives. Besides, local departmental estimates would not exhaust the roll of superannuation pensioners; those of other Governments, *e. g.* an opium department pensioner in the North-West, would be excluded. Therefore let the pension estimates be prepared, as now, by the auditor, superannuation pensions being classed under departments, political under the provinces on whose account they are paid. This division however would be for statistical, not account, purposes; for the principle is certainly right that a Government should show in its own estimates all monies which habitually pass through its hands and with which it finally deals;—‘finally’ and ‘habitually’ for the North-West Government cannot estimate for the opium department over which it has no control, nor, on the ground that the Benares Raja was going to spend a year in Calcutta, should it leave the Bengal Government to provide for his annual stipend. No troublesome cross adjustments, however, even then would be necessary; these could be made by the Accountant-General when preparing his consolidated books at the year’s end. All charges paid on account of another province might be accounted for in the same way, for though a Government rich in hill stations should expect to pay others’ idlers, it should make provision only in a cash requirement statement. Every department in every province should provide for all charges to be incurred in any place on its account, but deducting, at foot, amounts not expected to pass actually through its hands, should take a grant for the net charge, though leaving the Supreme Government to show the gross in

the Imperial Budget. Month by month an Accountant would report to the Accountant-General that so much had been paid on account of such a department of such a minor Government, but otherwise each would deal only with the receipts and payments within his own province, leaving adjustments to be made in the Imperial Books.

Seeing that estimates are in the first instance to be prepared by district officers, it is not easy to perceive on what principle it is proposed that they shall send unclassified accounts. A tehsildar prepares no budget, receives only certain kinds of revenue, and makes few payments; that he may send a simple account current, therefore, is no argument for a Collector doing the same. All the items of which the classification can be doubtful are items which should have appeared in his own classified estimate; whatever payment he may make for a judge, he knows must go against F. III. though he may not be quite sure whether a charge of his own should go against F. IX. or F. X. Yet if he must distribute such charges in his estimate, why should he not in his accounts? The argument is that time will be gained; it will certainly be lost in the Accountant's office, for a chaotic cash account will be far more troublesome to the compiler than one even ill arranged; and it is doubtful whether time will be saved in the district office, for if its accounts be posted as they should be, daily, they may easily be posted under proper heads; if they are created at the end of the month, at all events the vouchers can be tied in bundles before. To allow the submission of unclassified accounts will be unprofitably to introduce an unsound principle. But here again the Commissioners are not consistent, for they will have receipts classified though not payments, and more strangely still they will have vouchers classified though not accounts. And these vouchers are to be distinguished by shade of colour, a distinction which experience shows to be the most unsafe; it is bad enough to have a multiplicity of forms, but worse when the pale blue form is to mean something quite different from the pale pink from which, by many eyes, it cannot be distinguished. Otherwise the recommendations touching vouchers are sound enough; forms for them should be printed, half English, half Vernacular, and both halves should be filled up at once; but the native accountant should be compelled to note amounts, if not in English figures, as many can, at all events in the easily learnt Persian or Hindi.

But it is time to trace the accounts from their genesis in a tehsil to their nirwana in the Accountant-General's cellar. The tehsildar, *quoad* Government revenue, has purely mechanical duties; he may receive money tendered by certain persons, from

certain he is bound to collect so much, and he may pay only on special orders: his payments indeed may be treated as virtual remittances: these simple transactions are to be brought on the general books as soon as advice of them reaches the Sudder; this plan has been already tried, and is said to have failed unaccountably. Still on the main points connected with tehsil accounts, there can be no difference of opinion; they cannot be too simple, and must be in the vernacular. Questions touching the Sudder accounts however are wider, and there is less agreement on the proposal to substitute a day book

for the present ledger account, the Commissionaries speak of purely English accounts; speaking of the common system of treble accounts, 'it has been affirmed,' they say, 'that this repetition of each entry acts as a check on the correctness of the accounts; but the same labour devoted to a more complete set of accounts in one language, that is, in English, would be more to be depended on.' It is very doubtful whether purely English accounts can be introduced with any hope of success till respectable natives are generally bilingual; at present an English clerk on Rs. twenty is generally a lad of seventeen, or a dolt who cannot be trusted even to copy a letter. If for the native accountant were substituted an English clerk of equal intelligence, his pay would be four times as large, and he would be always striving to get away to some better post. But it would surely be possible to utilize the various accounts, making each fill the place of some one of the common set of English mercantile books. The treasurers of course would be the cash book; the invoices accompanying cash would pass with his signature to the department concerned, but through the hands of the native accountant that he might note them in the journal,* and at night might compare his entries with the tehsildar's counterfoils of receipts; orders for payment would reach the treasurer through the native accountant after entry by him, and from the treasurer would return to the treasury clerk, who might at once enter disbursements under their proper ledger heads. At all events, at the close of the day, when the treasurer's cash book is totalled and closed, and the native accountant's journal with an entry of 'advances recoverable,' adjusted and outstanding, and of cash balance, and the results compared by the treasury offices, the treasury clerk would be able to post his ledgers, the receipt side from the treasurer's counterfoils, the disbursement from the vouchers, then, if not before, translated:

* Of course the name 'journal' must not be taken strictly; it is not a true mercantile journal any more than the English clerk's is a true ledger.

the English side of the voucher would, however, probably be filled up when the order for payment was being prepared, so that disbursements would be posted as soon as made. There would thus be in the office three sets of accounts, based indeed on the same authorities, and giving the same results, yet not the same in form, nor containing the same entries, two of which would be compared daily with one another, and with the third as often as the treasury officer chose to abstract the totals of the ledger heads. The entries of the cash account and the journal would not tally, because the treasurer would know nothing of adjustments: if a Commissioner were to draw money on an insufficient voucher, the payment would appear in the treasurer's cash book once for all, but by the native accountant and the treasury clerk it would not be charged against Government, but against the Commissioner under Advances Recoverable; when the imperfection of the voucher was supplied, the original payment would be marked off, credit given *per contra* under the same head, and thus, for the first time, would the payment appear under its proper head of account. As the Treasury officer should initial the English ledgers daily, at the end of the month a simple transcript of them would form the classified monthly account for the Accountant; there would be no more time spent in copying a ledger than a journal.

It is not very easy to detail the steps whereby the chaos of the unclassified Account Current is to be reduced to the order of provincial ledgers. Early in the month a bundle of vouchers is to be sent in and examined, that the incomplete ones may be returned, and at the end of the month the rest of the vouchers are to come with the unclassified account: the plan of sending vouchers apart from the account is questionable. Then the vouchers are compared with authorities, and defective ones being rejected and their corresponding items struck out of the account, the accepted vouchers go to the detailed book-keepers, the corrected account to the 'Treasury Account Examiners.' From these independent authorities the two departments prepare, *pari passu*, detailed classified books, which they abstract daily; their abstracts, showing work done, should correspond, and if they do, from them shall be compiled the Cash Book, Journal, and Ledger. This is what we believe to be the Commissioners' real plan; if their words be construed strictly, the examination of vouchers is merely to for form's sake, and the audit, the comparison with authorities, is to be made by the detailed books, even after the daily abstract is made; but as the natural plan is evidently to make audit the first step, and to effect it by the vouchers, and as the other plan would necessitate alteration

of the books and abstracts of two departments, this can hardly be their intention; to have a second comparison between authorities and entries in the detailed books, would be to do the work twice over, as it is said to be done now. In this plan there are several weak points; the daily comparison can only be carried out if two departments can compile accounts at an equal rate from loose vouchers and from a chaotic catalogue of those vouchers; the records would consist of (1) bundles of accepted vouchers; (2) received from the district office, catalogues prepared in the district office of those vouchers, in full detail but unclassified; (3) detailed books compiled by the Accountant, containing exactly the same items in full detail but classified; (4) 'treasury account examiners' books', also prepared by the Accountant, containing exactly the same items in exactly the same detail in exactly the same order; (5) daily 'abstract of detailed books,' with its counterpart; (6) the daily 'abstract of 'treasury account examiners' books;' on these daily abstracts would be built (7) the Cash Book; and they would every month be consolidated into (8) the monthly abstract, which would be the foundation for (9) the Journal; and (10) the Ledger. We cannot think a Cash Book and Journal, in true mercantile form, absolutely necessary for Government accounts; and accounts which may show the exact daily transactions, for the whole province would be of no use, while the double sets of books in full detail would be of use only to cumber the Accountant's shelves.

As we urged that the demand of classified accounts from district officers need cause neither difficulty nor delay, it is necessary briefly to detail the method of consolidating such accounts in provincial books. When the month closed, transcripts—which might have been written up day by day—of the ledger pages would be sent to the Accountant, accompanied, each by its own bundle of vouchers, and by an abstract showing the total under each head. The vouchers which had not already been marked off in the audit department would be sent to it, and when they returned examination of the accounts would proceed, the items whose vouchers were rejected being first of all struck out. Items found charged to a wrong head would be transferred, and at last a memorandum of such transfers and of charges rejected, with the rejected vouchers, would be sent to the district officer. The corrected accounts would then pass to one set of book-keepers, the corrected abstract to another: the former would compile an account in as much detail as the budget estimates submitted to the Accountant, and this would be month by month checked with the account prepared from the abstracts,

which would be the preliminary advice to the Accountant-General of the general state of expenditure. From the detailed books would be compiled others in the same detail as the budget estimate submitted by the Accountant, and these abstract books would be those sent to the Accountant-General. Any other Cash Book, Journal, and Ledger might be prepared from either the abstract books or the monthly abstract statements. The records on this plan would be (1) vouchers in bundles; (2) classified account sent with those vouchers from the district; (3) detailed books compiled from those accounts; (4) abstract books consolidated from the detailed books; and (5) check monthly abstracts compiled from those sent by district officers with their accounts. Here even the raw materials are classified, but the same work is nowhere done twice, the details of no two books exactly correspond, and from returns which give even names of payees and dates of payments by regular steps we reach a stage where nothing is shown but gross charges against sanctioned budget grants.

If there be room for doubt as to the steps whereby district are to be reduced to provincial accounts, the subsequent steps are still more obscure. The monthly abstract will warn the Accountant what grants are likely to be exceeded, what others can supplement the deficiency; but so long as transfers have to be made at all, it is hard to see how, by filing this return, the Financial Department will be saved keeping a register of transfers; the fewer they are the lighter the labour; but as the Accountant's abstract will show only the result of the transfers, the steps must surely be noted for check. The monthly abstracts will furnish material for the Annual Account, to be accompanied by a report explaining and defending expenditure in excess of grant. These annual accounts are of course to be consolidated by the Accountant-General into a general account for the empire, a task of little difficulty, as they will follow the estimate forms, and apparently show only what are now called major budget heads. And in the same account will appear the accounts with the Home Government. Now the mutual accounts remain for years unadjusted; charges belonging to the one Government remain debited to the other; it is proposed for the future that, month by month, accounts, under heads to be agreed on, be exchanged and posted immediately on receipt. We may hope, by the way, that the Secretary of State will audit the English Government's claims on the Indian; the two countries have not always been so well agreed touching their mutual burdens as to make one very eager to pay the Chancellor of the Exchequer's bill without scrutiny. These monthly accounts would be consolidated, with the annual accounts of the

minor administrations, into a general statement of the income and expenditure of the Indian empire. But would the Local Accountants furnish to the Accountant-General no other accounts, more systematic and more detailed? There is no hint of more being demanded, yet their ledgers can hardly be intended for their own shelves only.

There have been four great blots on the Indian system of account; the books have been imperfect, for receipts and payments in England have not been included; they have not been consolidated; they have been overloaded with useless detail; and they have been always in arrears. The monthly exchange of accounts between Calcutta and London will go far to remove the first blemish; though it be found that they at times require correction, it will be easy to correct by entries *per contra* far easier to correct than to create. The second will be removed simply by accounts being sent home by the Accountant-General only, so that the Home Authorities will store his abstract instead of huge detailed books for every Government. Of the third fault Indian accountants have often complained, declaring it to be one cause, if not the chief cause, of the arrears which they felt to disgrace them. The accounts sent to the Accountant must be in detail, for he has really to audit them, comparing the entries with the vouchers; but as the details of his return must be taken on his signature, and as too he is supposed to be too well trained and instructed to make a wrong classification, it is hard to see why his annual accounts need be in much more detail than his annual estimates. Any change must have had for its main object the removal of these four blemishes, increased rather than diminished by the existing system; and our main quarrel with the Commissioners is that they propose unnecessary changes which will cause confusion and delay.

Nor do the proposed changes in the departmental staff appear quite judicious. Abolition of pre-audit involves abolition of Civil Paymasterships, and the loss of these five appointments will not add to the attraction of a department which was near losing all its covenanted members when the sub-Treasurerships were abolished three years ago. But does a desire to retain these servants suggest the giving to each Accountant an efficient deputy? Rather it should suggest an increase in the number of independent Accountants. 'It is quite impossible at present for the Deputy Auditor and Accountant-General to make himself master and watch over the conduct of a great part of the business which is under his charge.' The work then of his office should be so reduced that he can master and watch the whole, rather than he should be tempted by the pre-

sence of his 'efficient deputy,' to rid himself of what may seem the less important portion, and be nominally held responsible for work he does not feel himself bound to check. Evidently most men would give to their 'efficient deputies' the work corresponding to existing pre-audit, and so far the plan may not be bad: though it be wrong to think that to check amounts charged is less important than to see them charged to the right head, at all events intelligent check and examination would be secured. According to his bent too the Accountant would use his 'efficient deputy' either to examine all treasuries or to stay in charge while he examined them; both plans would be equally objectionable, for the 'efficient deputy' could neither give final orders nor merely ask for instructions. And, again, would not such a plan foster the pernicious practice, which allows Accountants to spend months in the hills, four days' post from their records and their offices, seeing such papers only as their assistant may send? The plan should rather be to make the necessary absences of the chief, few and short, and to give to one man no more business than he can, himself, efficiently superintend; and both these ends would be best attained by lessening the area of charge. This might be done sufficiently by giving to each administration its own Accountant; but in an extreme case a province might have two such officers, each with his own circle, his own office, his undivided responsibility, each corresponding immediately with the Local Government and the Accountant-General, though, if necessary, the senior only might send figured statements, his junior's abstracts being blended with his own. But the 'efficient deputy' is not only to relieve his chief of excessive work, but to supply his place in case of absence on long leave. For this arrangement we can see no reason, but on the contrary think Lord Canning's provision for the transfer of officers after two years' service in an office not the worst point of the plan Mr. Laing abandoned. Though fully prepared to admit the weighty objections to a change of the efficient head of any office, yet we think the principle of maintaining a department really one, with real unity of system and complete subordination to one head, seriously imperilled by leaving an officer long at one station, even though the proposed alteration did not take much from the small prizes of the department by refusing promotion except on permanent vacancies. Were the heads of offices to be regularly and systematically moved, it would be impossible that any local variations of system could grow up, or, if already existing, could remain unchecked, or that any improvement of office management introduced in one office could be long unknown to others. And great as the evils of

change may be, they would thus be reduced to a minimum; a person coming anew to an office he had filled before, to administer a system with which he was familiar and which he had been administering elsewhere, would take up the work as though he had been but absent on short leave. And we cannot but think it a great objection to the proposed change that one man would be to-day the head of an office, having administered it for many months, and to-morrow a subordinate in the same office, under a chief who, however inclined to trust him, was yet responsible for having, and acting on, an opinion of his own. Nothing could add more to the difficulties of a new comer than having to command his predecessor.

We have carefully followed the Commissioners through their report, and, agreeing generally as to the disease, have as generally questioned their treatment. For this treatment is not uniform, yet makes changes in the present which are neither necessary nor advisable. Nor are indications wanting which might raise a doubt whether the condition of the patient has been fully appreciated. A surgeon treating a patient with all the appliances of a London hospital at his beck would not act, as he must in a station in the jungles, where he has nothing but his pocket case of instruments, some quinine and a drastic purgative; but the Commissioners, speaking too of vouchers as though they represented a definite amount of labour, compare the out-turn of a Bengali baboo's day with that of a man equal to the head of the office in knowledge and intelligence, and were he but exported to India equal too in cost. And though they scoff at the quantity of labour now wasted through disregard, as they confess, rather through observance of rule, and though they have taken laudable care to save the labour of book-keepers by simplifying accounts while increasing in a still greater degree the responsibility of district officers, they have not asked how they can ensure that the new orders shall be more regarded than the old. Arrears can only be prevented by securing that the English accounts be written up daily; it is as easy to do this with classified as with unclassified accounts, but in spite of many orders we believe there is not an office in India in which the English accounts are ready up to date. Simplicity is most important, indeed, in a system to be administered under so many difficulties, but no simplicity will keep accounts right, or prevent arrears, while officers are allowed to believe this their least important work. Indeed we read any proposals for improvement with a faint despair; each change only confuses those who were trying, and beginning, to learn the work, and gives those who were indifferent another argument whereby to

justify their indifference to themselves. A more radical change than one of rule is wanted, a change in the feeling of those who administer the rule. No volumes of general censures and governmental regrets would work this change so rapidly as practical proof of earnestness in a suspension, penal transfer, or denied promotion, whereof the avowed cause should be ignorance or neglect of rules of account. It has been said that the readiest way of making a fortune would be to buy the orders of a Local Government at a Mofussil price, and to sell them at a head-quarter price; and, to speak plainly, we think the Account Department is that which sets on its own orders the value most widely differing from that assigned by a district officer.

ART. VI.—*Sailor Life in Calcutta.*

OF the value of statistics it is scarcely possible to speak too highly. They form the starting point of all political as well as natural science. They are to the political economist and the legislator what analysis is to the chemist. They enable him to disintegrate the several parts that compose the complex fabric of the society with which he has to deal, that so, with due regard to the existence and proportions of the many elements, he may promote the most widely the good of the whole with the least possible injury to any part.

Now, in India, we try our hands at political economy and at legislation. But how far are either based on reliable statistics? What do we really know of the peoples, and of the proportions in which these peoples form the heterogeneous body-politic? We are content to speak of our gross population in *round* tens of *millions*; and we can *guess* that a certain portion may be Mahomedans, and another portion Hindoos; and that suffices for general purposes. But of even the European community, that mere handful, as we often describe it, which constitutes the paramount power of the Empire—of its numbers what accurate information do we possess? No trustworthy census has, so far as we know, been taken; and, certainly, no analysis of any census exists which would give us any idea of the relative numbers of the different classes of which even this fractional part of the empire is made up.

Now we have no intention to embark on the wide ocean of conjecture (for such it at best would be) as to the general strength and the classification of our English community. We desire, by way of illustration, to take up one single class of that community, and to it we will confine ourselves,—the *Sailors* of the port of Calcutta. Nor do we claim accuracy for even the following calculations. We have been obliged to accept such information as we could obtain, (in every case obligingly placed at our disposal), and are only to be held responsible for the inferences we have drawn. Our object has been to arrive at something like an approximate number of the seamen of our port, with a view to the amelioration of their condition; and thankful, and amply rewarded shall we feel for a considerable amount of personal labour, if we shall only have created a healthy and useful interest in this class, and shall

have demonstrated, too, by the lamentable poverty of existing data, the necessity of some steps being authoritatively taken to devise and enforce some mode for a more exact preparation and careful preservation of such data for the future.

What then do the majority of the Calcutta public really know about poor 'Jack?' They only see him at a great disadvantage; for 'Jack ashore' is about as much in his element as a fish out of water. He scarcely does himself justice there. 'Only just see him in Flag Street,' some one will say—'only look at the papers, and see the hundreds of cases of 'seamen brought up before the Magistrates as "drunk and disorderly," or "for refusal of duty." Yes,—but we will leave this for the present, and come to it by and bye,—in the meantime, is he not a little prejudged? See him walking quietly (for him) along the Strand, and to the shore-going eye his very gait is suggestive of grog, and the conclusion is easily arrived at that every poor fellow who after some four months' incarceration on boardship gets leave for a day, and goes *rolling along*—because he has got his sea legs and not his land ones—is, as a matter of course, 'out for a spree,' if not already 'half seas over;' and the slightest ebullition of feeling his jovial heart may give vent to, (very improperly no doubt!) marks him down at once as a special object for police interference. Is this quite fair? Or, at least, because sailors will get drunk, and be riotous, or will refuse duty—very often not without cause—is it fair to condemn the whole class as a drunken, reckless, mutinous lot? Would you pronounce on the character of the water of a Calcutta tank by the scum on its surface?

One word at starting to guard against being misunderstood. There will be no attempt made in these pages to gloss over drunkenness, or to defend insubordination; but an endeavour will be made, in sea-loving sympathy, to present 'Jack ashore' in his true colours; and that, with an ulterior object of showing, not only what he is, but how he may be improved.

But to judge Jack aright, and to deal with him aright, we must have some *data* to go upon,—we must know something about him. And what do we know? Who can tell the number of seamen that annually enter and leave this port? Who can tell us how many get their discharge, and why? how many go to hospital, or to jail, or how many die?

Philanthropy is crying aloud that something must be done to help him. She demands that he be better housed on shore, better protected on board, better looked after in health, better tended in sickness, have a play-ground for amusement, an Institute for instruction, and a Chapel for devotion; and all honour to

philanthropy for the kindly thought of helping a class whose very condition, as mere birds of passage, renders it impossible for them to help themselves! But at the first step she is at fault. She cannot discover how many seamen she has to take under her maternal wing. She goes off to the Marine Office, and she is told the Master Attendant takes cognisance of ships—not sailors. She hurries to the Chamber of Commerce, to find that only cargoes are cared for—not crews. As a last hope she rushes to the Custom House, only to learn that nominal rolls are not compulsory, and, therefore, the very manifests are defective in this particular. She finds that there is simply *no Office* in which any reliable returns of seamen are kept—no source from which she can learn the very alphabet of that science which would enable her to help poor Jack while in port.

And common sense asks (with duly timid tones and modest suggestiveness) if it was thought necessary to keep till a year or two ago a century's growth of pay bills, vouchers, and certificates, &c., '*et hoc genus omne*,' in triple and quadruple form, which by no possibility could be of any use, to fill cellars, line passages, and crowd upper rooms and verandahs with ponderous tomes of these useless records under useless Record-keepers with secretarial conservatism, why was never a thought bestowed on applying the boasted arithmetical gifts of a few supplementary Bengalee Baboos on utilising some at least of the information which those Offices might have furnished, as statistical knowledge for coming generations of philanthropists and legislators?

Report has spoken of the formation of a 'Statistical Commission.' To make it any more than a sham:—to make it really useful, let official returns be prepared with such accuracy, and so statistically arranged, that the Commissioners may have some data to go on, some exact reliable tabular information to deal with.

But to return to our sailors. That very little positive information can be gained regarding them from existing office returns, is surely to be deplored. We do not pretend to have made a new discovery in the fact that statistics are sadly at a discount in Calcutta. Here is the statement of a writer who has devoted much time to the consideration of our sailor population. Dr. Norman Chevers says (*Preservation of Health of Seamen, Calcutta*, pp. 38-39) — 'I have been at considerable pains to ascertain at what rate the seamen frequenting the Port of Calcutta die. At present I am not able to do this with sufficient accuracy, because I have not succeeded in finding out what the average strength of Europeans manning the

'ships in port is.' He might have as truly added, 'or the actual number that enter the port.'

As the real value of any calculations (not to dignify these by the name of statistics) depends much on the source from whence they have been drawn, and the processes by which they have been arrived at, it may be well, at the risk of being prolix, to state at the outset on what authorities and by what principles we venture to offer, as proximately correct, the following figures, which are the results of our personal research in the several offices in which the information required was to be obtained.

The starting point of our proposed investigations is this. What is the probable number of seamen who in any given time, say one year, enter and leave this port? Take the last commercial year from May 1st, 1863, to April 30th, 1864.

The Chamber of Commerce gives us a total of 1,216 ships, according to the annexed table, as having entered the port during the year.

NUMBER of Ships entered inwards in the books of the Chamber of Commerce between 1st May 1863 and 30th April 1864.

	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	January.	February.	March.	April.	Total.
British	50	69	74	63	92	129	62	72	92	93	53	89	938
American	13	4	8	10	3	5	7	1	4	6	6	9	86
French	6	3	16	23	8	15	7	11	11	18	16	8	142
Other Conti- nental States }	6	2	1	6	8	8	1	8	8	6	4	2	50
Total ...	75	78	99	102	111	157	77	92	115	123	79	108	1,216

The Custom House returns show 1,143 ships sailing with European crews. The two tables, placed side by side, will give the following results :—

	According to Cham- ber of Commerce.	Custom House.
Under British Flag ...	938	862
„ American ...	86	91
„ French ...	142	143
„ Other Continental ...	50	47
Total, ...	1,216	1,143

The slightness of the variation between the number of the American, French, and other Continental States in these two offices, in itself shows that we are near the mark; for the records from the two offices are perfectly distinct. The difference of 72 in the number of British ships admits of the simplest solution, as representing the number of ships sailing under British colours but carrying lascar crews. Then, this latter number of 1,143 is singularly confirmed by the testimony, again independent, of the Marine Office, which gives 1,140 as the number of European manned ships entering the port. We feel, then, that we have made good our footing on this first step of our ladder of calculations. 1,143 ships may be taken as representing the exact number of those that have entered this port with European and American crews.

Now of these 1,143, only 683 have filed nominal rolls of crews on the Custom House manifests. These 683 represent 11,729 sailors, which would give an average of $17\frac{1}{2}$ men per ship; and by applying the same average to the remaining 450 ships, which have not entered their crews on their manifests, we have the further number of 8,049 men, making a total of 19,728 on the 1,143 ships. But, by general consent, this is far too low an average; 25 and even 30 being roughly given as nearer the mark. This average certainly will not stand the test of comparison with the *rating* of the ships. The registered tonnage of these 1,143 ships, according to the Custom House returns, amounts to 9,16,051 tons; and these at the rate of three for every 100 tons—and even the patent reefing apparatus introduced into some of the ships, would not so reduce the number of hands as to materially disturb this average—would give 27,480 men. This calculation, moreover, is corroborated by the Register of the Surveyor to Lloyd's, Veritas's, and other Insurance Offices; and it should be borne in mind, that a special weight attaches to these returns, as any master sailing short-handed would risk his policy in the event of loss at sea. 100 British ships, taken consecutively on the Surveyor's Register, give an aggregate of 2,342 seamen, or an average of about $23\frac{1}{2}$ men per ship; 85 American ships give 1,569 seamen, or an average of $18\frac{1}{2}$; and French ships give 464 men averaging 14 each.

Accepting these rates.

862 British ships, averaging	$23\frac{1}{2}$ per ship, give...	20,257
142 French do. do.	14 do. „ ...	1,988
50 Other Continental States	14 do. „ ...	700
86 American	$18\frac{1}{2}$ do. „ ...	1,587
		<hr/> 24,532

To these must be added the crew of 101 ships lying in the river on the 1st May 1863, which, at the same rates, will represent 2,444 men. Then there were already on shore, in the Sailor's Home 112, at the several boarding houses of Flag Street, about 100 (for this is the maximum of accommodation they can give); in the Jail, in the Medical College, Presidency General, and Howrah Hospitals, probably 250 more; say 460 in all on shore.

But for our subsequent calculations deduction must be made of the seamen returned in Peninsular and Oriental steamers, which are included in the foregoing tables; for while on shore, whether sick or sound, they are so admirably cared for on the Company's own premises, that they will not come under review in our subsequent investigations. Now these amounted during the year to 998 men; but as the *Carnatic* and *Rangoon* brought out full European crews, of these, 42 men who were in excess of the average ships' companies, obtained their discharge on arrival. So that a deduction of $998 - 42 = 956$ must be made; and this will have about 26,500, by the following process:—

Seamen on ships in the river, 1st May 1863	...	2,444	
„ Entering during the year	...	24,532	...
„ Less those remaining in P. and O. Service	...	956	...
			23,576
On shore	...	...	460
			26,480

So our second step brings us thus far. About 27,500 European and American seamen entered this port during the year.

Now our first visits on shore, like Jack's too often, must be to the Government Shipping Office, and to the several Consulates; and the result of the information gained there will be best understood by the accompanying Abstract* which shows that there were—

	Discharged.	Deserted.	Re-shipped.
At the English Shipping Office	...	4,418	101
„ American Consulate	...	469	302
„ French	...	0	20
„ Other Continental States—	...	19	3
Total,...	4,906	426	4,807

* By which so far as these returns may be relied on we find that the seamen who leave the port are fewer than those who enter it, and that in American ships 771 have been discharged or have deserted against 291 re-shipped, and 188 sent home 'sick' or 'distressed.'

Now, of these 26,500 seamen, probably ninety-nine out of every hundred had signed articles for the voyage *out and home*, or else for two or perhaps three years' cruise, and yet we see that while in port, 5,332, or above one-fifth of the whole number of them find their way to the Government Shipping Office or their Consulate, and succeed in getting their discharge. There are undoubtedly instances in which the articles are signed only for the voyage out; such as a new steamer, or an English built tug, brought out by an English crew, who, their work done, by agreement take their discharge. Occasionally, too, in a ship chartered for country trading, the whole English crew are replaced by lascars. But these are comparatively rare instances; whereas the number of seamen who claim their discharge on arriving here, is a startling and gravely suggestive fact; one-fifth of the whole!

The endeavour to offer an explanation of the phenomenon may bring to light some few facts coming under the head of 'things not generally known.' Take a ship just in from New Zealand or Sydney or any of the Australian ports. Her master has shipped his crew there at £5 or £6 or even £7 a month, and finds that, according to Calcutta rates, he can get three men here for every one he took there. Now a master with a kindly heart as well as a calculating head will buy out such men with a present of half a month or a month's wages in excess; and Jack tempted with the sight of 'the ready' will walk off amicably to the Shipping Office, and take his discharge 'by mutual consent.' But should this milder or more gracious process not meet the master's views, a little extra work, a little stinting of food and water, a little gentle abuse, or perhaps rope's-end liberally applied, calls up the spirit of discontent and complaint, which grows into resistance, and is soon denounced as insubordination. Then comes the threat of irons or the House of Correction, and many a naturally quiet and orderly, though independant-spirited, and hot-tempered, tar pays dearly for his folly by having to accept his discharge, minus, it may be, a large slice of his pay, to avoid the alternative of disgrace which now stares him in the face. It is worth while to get rid of an Australian shipped crew in Calcutta: and this is one source from which Calcutta gets discharged seamen.

Other motives also come into play; while in port Jack is rather an expensive property. Yards once squared and all made trim, there is no reefing, no furling, little or no holy-stoning; cargoes are generally cleared out or shipped by the stevedore and his coolies; and Jack's services are not so much in request. If the crew can be weeded on arrival, and a new crew shipped

in time for sailing, the ship's balance sheet will present a good appearance, and the Master gets his percentage on all he saves. Inducement No. 2—and Calcutta gets the refuse.

Again, by what law or on what principle it is we cannot divine, but on the pretence of *exchange* it is the custom on many ships that every seaman paid off in Calcutta loses *two annas on each Rupee* of his wages. For every man left in Hospital or in Jail when a ship sails, the wages in full are credited by the Shipping Master; but for every man paid off (we speak of course only of some ships) each rupee, as it passes from the Shipping Office through the Master's hands, undergoes this 'sweating' process. Now two annas in a rupee on wages of a three or four month's voyage is worth saving.* We do not find that this two annas in the Rupee is transferred to the Agents; we do not hear that it is credited to the owners. This undoubtedly helps to swell the number of discharged and discontented seamen in Calcutta.

Nor must it be forgotten that, besides these, a very large number of seamen are thrown on our streets under a different name, that of *deserters*, but who are simply men who by 'mutual agreement,' get free of their ships without the trouble and formality of a discharge. The returns supplied to us show that this custom prevails far more with American ships, for against 469 discharged there appears no less than 302 *deserters*; whereas in the Government Shipping Office the numbers are 4,957 discharged and only 101 deserters. The anomalous position of some foreign Consulates no doubt explains much of this; the Consul himself has no jurisdiction over the seamen after they have left the ship; and the American Master is not over-ready to lodge a complaint before the Consul, for, while by American law the master is obliged to deposit three months' pay at the Consulate for every seaman discharged, or to ship another American at once, he finds it a much simpler and cheaper plan to let a man go about his business and then return him as a *deserter*. This tacitly recognised immunity from legal penalties opens the door to much evasive discharge of crews; and confers on Calcutta the benefit of a large portion of the scum of the sea-faring population.

Let it not be thought that we are insinuating motive unjustly and unjustifiably. We are stating facts, and the above inferences present the only solution we can offer of this phenomenon. Ships shall come in and pass out without changing a man; unless some poor fellow be left in hospital too ill to sail.

* Two annas only in the Rupee have been spoken of above, because this is the ordinary rate of deduction, but occasionally this is exceeded. Only a few weeks after the cyclone, the writer of this heard of a Master who was going to deduct *four annas*, on being confronted and threatened with exposure the crew were paid in full.

Of their thirty or thirty-five men not one shall ask his discharge, not one desert, not one appear in the police court; while in other ships moored perhaps alongside one-half shall seek to be free of their articles, to escape from their ships at any price, even through the ordeal of the police court. If then we find eight or ten men from a single ship put in the lock-up for refusal of duty or for demanding their discharge on grounds of bad fare or bad usage, content to suffer the loss of wages and even the indignity of the jail, rather than return to their duty, how else can we explain it? How else account for so great a contract between the one ship and the other? It is absurd to suppose that one ship is manned with angels, the other with fiends. The manning of a ship is always a matter of chance and of risk. The best ships generally have a nearly entire change of crews for each voyage; the petty officers may remain, but the mass of the ship's company are if we mistake not new each time. How then we again ask, can we account for this great difference? As a rule, the master or in some cases the chief officer, is the maker of his crew; and masters and chief officers must forgive us for saying that firmness and justice with consideration will as a rule make a much better crew than short commons and abuse, the rope's end and irons. It is at least worth trying, and Calcutta would benefit by the experiment.

Nor must we overlook one external influence which appears to have unchecked and unrestrained sway in this port; the lodging house runner, *touter*, *crimp*, or by what other name he be known. Take your stand on the quay at the London or Liverpool or Bristol Docks, and you will recognise many a specimen of this baneful class. But there the ship's deck is sacred from their tread. Although the voyage is over with the ship's entrance into the river or the dock, and the articles of agreement have become so much waste paper, and every seaman is from that moment his own master, while you will see the Agent or the visitor from the Sailor's Home going freely on board, not a *crimp* or a *touter* or a runner dares to set his foot on the deck. Whereas here, though the voyage is but half over, and there should be no need of boarding house, the *crimp* has free access to many a deck, and is permitted to sing the praises of his boarding house, and the glories of Flag street. These are the decoy ducks to the meshes of Calcutta, these are the pilot sheep to the shambles of Bow Bazaar! There they lead men to be drugged, and plundered, and ruined—they having their head-money on every victim. 'At our door' (said one of this body in his dying moments to the writer of these lines) 'at our door

'lies half the vice and misery and disease and death that befall the seamen in this port.' Yes; these are they that help to fill our House of Correction, our Hospitals, and our Grave yards!

We ask then are the circumstances of this port so superior, the tendencies of this climate so much more healthy, is the moral atmosphere of Calcutta so much more pure, that the precautions which exist in every English port, the restrictions which there protect in some degree these impulsive reckless 'children of the sea' are here unnecessary? If not, in the name of common sense, and of morality, and of humanity, let us have them applied and enforced!

It is not until too late that the poor victim learns the full price he has to pay for the luxury of the independence which a *punch ghur* or boarding house offers over the restrictions and the regularity of the Sailor's Home. The rate of weekly charge at the one may be but little more than that of the other, but by the time the runner or *crimp* has had his two rupees, and every bottle of brandy (so called by courtesy) has cost one rupee or even *two*; and five rupees have been charged on cashing a note, and five rupees on getting a ship,—to say nothing of the many more out of which the loafer-league have beguiled him,—poor Jack finds how miserably he has been duped, probably diseased—finds out how dearly in money and in health he has paid for his run ashore.

Can Government, really philanthropic and paternal at heart, rest content until something is done to protect Jack against these land sharks, more deadly than those he has escaped at sea? We can only hope that by the time our tale is all told, however imperfectly, enough at least will have been said to show the necessity of something being done, perhaps enough to point out some of the ways in which it may be best and most effectually done.

We have arrived thus far. Of the 26,500 seamen who have to be accounted for, about 5,800 have by discharge or desertion become part of the *floating population of the town*. In our subsequent calculations this distinction will as far as it is possible be kept in view; to speak in round numbers 21,000 will be regarded as the *river population* for the year, and 5,000 as seamen on shore; and the result of our inquiries into the future of these two classes, whether in the records of crime, or disease, or death, will assuredly help 'to point a moral' though they may fail to 'adorn a tale.'

Allusion has been made to the unenviable notoriety which seamen, as a body, have gained in this part among those who

glance only over the surface of their existence. 'Refusal of duty,' 'drunk and disorderly' are certainly not unfrequent headings of Police cases, and introduce us to scenes in which Jack too often plays the leading part.

Our first visit of enquiry would therefore naturally be to the Police Court itself, to see what the Police records tell us of Jack's life on shore. But unfortunately for the man of statistics, the Police records will give him *no information* at all. It has not been thought necessary to enter the particular description of each prisoner with such fulness as to admit of any classification of offenders. However, there are other sources of information tolerably reliable very near the Police Court. The worthy who figures in the morning under the charge of 'drunk and disorderly' or for 'refusal of duty,' has most likely been compelled to chew the *quid* of reflection, if not of repentance, behind the iron gratings of the *Lock-up*. So there we will go, and see what the Register can tell us of the number of seamen who have in the course of the year passed through this stage of 'durance vile' prior to presenting themselves before 'His Worship.' And thence we will adjourn to the House of Correction. And although, for reasons we will presently explain, the two returns are not to be read together, or be expected to tally with each other, they will materially help to show to what extent Jack has been really held responsible for disturbing the peace of Calcutta, or for still more heinous misdemeanours. And here we will begin to draw the distinction between the sailor that still belongs to a ship, and the one who is living on shore.

'How many of your drunken fellows (we said only lately to a group of Masters in a friendly chat) do you think have visited the Lock-up during the year?' 'Five-hundred,' said one; 'not less than a thousand,' suggested another; 'two thousand at least,' cried a third. And yet when pressed to think how many of their own ship's companies had appeared in that plight, they began to admit they were going a little beyond the mark. Now, reader, if you are a 'shore-going citizen,' you no doubt will say that of the ships' crews of this port not less certainly than the two thousand can have passed through the Lock-up; that on the 21,000 would be less than ten per cent. What will you say when we tell you—and we have ourselves most carefully examined the register—that there were exactly 385, at the rate of one man per night, or about one and two-third per cent. of the whole body of seamen in the river who were locked up on the charge of drunkenness! Not so bad as you expected! On the whole not so bad at all, considering Jack's temperament and his temptations.

Then of seamen on shore (where a broad distinction must be drawn between the *seaman proper*, though not belonging to any ship, and the mere *loafer*), there are 186 entries in the Register against the 5,000 'town-boys,' or three per cent. ; showing that the drunkenness and confinement of the seamen on shore is more than double that of those who are on the river. For *assault*, which so often grows out of drunkenness, the proportion, though somewhat less, is still sadly against the man on shore. But the third class of charge, *theft*, tells a melancholy tale how the idleness of shore life leads to graver crime ; among the 21,000 seamen on the river there are only 79 charges of theft, while the 5,000 on shore have produced 62, above one per cent. of their whole number.

The appended table will at a glance show the relative proportions and the gross amount of crime, under the several heads entered in the Register book of the Lock-up.

	Drunk.	Assault.	Theft.	Refusal of duty.	Absent without leave.
Seamen belonging to } ships ... }	365	112	79	121	120
Seamen on shore ...	180	46	62	0	0
Loafers ...	77	16	41	0	0

We now pass on to the House of Correction ; and it will at once be seen why these returns must be regarded independently of those from the Lock-up ; for instance against the 551 charges of drunkenness against the seamen in the Lock-up Register, there appear only 35 commitments on this charge at the House of Correction. In the great majority of instances a warning or a small fine would be deemed sufficient for the offence. Then, on the other hand, many charges would come before the Police Magistrate without passing through the Lock-up ; on warrant for instance, or direct from the street, or the ship. So the two returns must be dealt with independently of each other.

Here we have the total number of seamen committed (both river and town population, for the distinction has not been drawn in this abstract between the two classes).

Abstract of Commitments in the House of Correction.

	Drunkennes.	Assault.	Theft	Refusing duty	Absent without leave	Deserting	Inability to pay fine	House-breaking	Having stolen property.	Suspicious loitering.	Riot and indecency	Total.
Number of Seamen committed,	35	71	100	113	54	16	12	3	4	5	2	435

On the foregoing table a few remarks are necessary. Of those 4,35,422 were under sentence from the Police Court. Of the 113 committed for 'refusal of duty,' it appears that a large proportion belonged to the same ship, and comprised, in many instances, *re-committals* for repeated refusals. Again, the 32 cases of inability to pay fine cannot really be treated as distinct offences, but must be taken in connection either with an offence of assault or being drunk, and be regarded as an extension of the original committal. So that probably of the 435 committals there were not more than 350 actual offenders. Set this number against the 27,500 seamen in the port during the year, and the result is that of the whole sea-faring population of this port, about one and a quarter per cent. have been committed *for all crimes* to the House of Correction in the course of one year!

Our next inquiry will carry us to the Hospitals; and from the Returns obtained from them we have the following results:—

	Seamen Admitted		Recovered	Died.
	From Ships	From Boarding Houses.		
In the Presidency General Hospital	785	296	933	86
„ Medical College Hospital ..	431	599	891	110
„ Howrah Hospital	104	56	151	10
	1,320	951	1,975	206

From these figures, which we accept on the authority of the Hospitals themselves, one fact is clear, that the General Hos-

pital is much more resorted to by the sick on board the ships in the river, for the simple reason, doubtless, that it is more accessible from those lying along the whole range of moorings from Baboo's Ghat to Kidderpore; while, on the same principle, the Medical College Hospital, lying in the heart of the town, has received more than twice as many patients from among the sailors on shore than the General Hospital. But here a startling fact presents itself. The river population of 21,000 contributed only 1,320 cases to the Hospitals, about three per cent. of their whole number; while the 5,000 on shore sent nearly twenty per cent. or one-fifth of the whole. Again of that 5,000, close on 2,000 availed themselves of the Sailor's Home, and of that number 200 or ten per cent. went to one or other of the two Calcutta Hospitals; while of the remaining 3,000 who distributed themselves over the boarding-houses of Lall Bazaar, no less than 700 appear on the registers of these two Hospitals, or nearly twenty-five per cent. What a tale does this disclose! It is no exaggeration to say that drunkenness, disease, and death brood over the portals of Lall Bazaar.

And now, difficult as our task has been in each stage of this inquiry, the greatest difficulty, from the absence of reliable data, meets us at the end. On the calculations made by Dr. Chevers that ten per cent. of our sailor population die here every year, we ought to be in a position to show that of the 27,500 who entered the port during the past year, 2,750 had left their bones on this pestilential shore. Our Hospital returns only record 206 deaths—not one per cent! While the Police records would add but a few more to the number, and those not classified with sufficient accuracy to help us to any satisfactory conclusion beyond the fact that during the year 24 seamen were drowned, 6 died from accident, and 1 committed suicide.

We have then to end where we began. Oh that statistics were more appreciated in Calcutta! Then it might be possible to sum up the result of months of laborious research, with the compensating assurance that we had been able to throw some light upon a very hazy subject.

Two facts at least, let us hope, have been brought out; that the number of seamen discharged in this port is beyond all proportion to the number entering it, and that the number of sick from the foul dens of Flag street is more appalling still. It is *on shore* that Jack is in danger. Let his present facility of getting free of articles be at once stopped; and, when on shore, let him have a home, amusement, and instruction, by which both body and mind may be kept in health. Do not let him pass away from this shore uttering that withering censure that here

no man cared for his body or his soul. It is our intention to resume this part of our subject in a future number.

One word in conclusion. If we will only regard him, not as a *necessary evil*, a *moral nuisance*, and a *social pest*, but as a fellow man, we shall be much more disposed to do him justice. When men of educated minds and refined tastes and full purses have done their utmost to improve Jack's character by giving occupation to his mind, and a cheery home on shore, *and have failed*—then—but not till then—will they be justified in denouncing him as hopelessly degraded and irreclaimably vicious.

ART. VII.—1.—‘*Englishman*’ Newspaper, November 12th and 19th, 1864.

2.—‘*Friend of India*’ ditto, December 1st, 1864.

A PORTION of the Article ‘Education in Bengal’ in our last number, was devoted to the consideration of the connection between education and morality. The article, and more particularly this part of it, has formed the subject of such very contradictory criticism, especially in the two journals referred to above, the commendation of the one being as unmerited as the censure of the other was virulent and absurd, that we have been induced to revert to the question in order to correct any misconception, and to define our meaning more fully and accurately.

In treating of the general effects of education in Bengal, it was impossible to overlook the supposed connection between its extension and the improvement of morality. That this improvement was the main end with many of its chief promoters cannot be denied; and the tacit assumption that it is the principal if not the only object of all, is so constantly made, that the educationalist is frequently confronted by the argument—‘What is the use of all the waste of money in education? I have been in the country twenty years or more, and I believe the natives were as good in every way before this fuss was made about it, and for my part I cannot say that I find them at all more moral than they were without it, on the contrary, if anything rather worse.’

This is the language on the lips of almost all the old residents in the country, and it has been repeated again and again in the daily press; in this conflict between the enthusiastic assertions of the friend of education that it *must* improve morality, and the confident reply of men of experience that it *has not done so*, the balance thus far appears so clearly to incline to the latter, that we could not avoid the conclusion that in fixing on this as the primary end and effect of education, its advocates had weakened and damaged its cause, and, passing over the true and proper grounds for its support, had rested its vindication on those which it was difficult, if not impossible to maintain.

It was as unnecessary to our argument, as it was far from

our intention, to endeavour to prove that education was conducive to immorality, though in attacks made upon the article it may have proved convenient to argue as if our statements that some considerations would, *if anything*, point to an unfavourable rather than a favourable effect, actually conveyed a deliberate conclusion on our part, that this unfavourable effect was provable or true.

The drift of our contention clearly and avowedly was, that it was a great error to put forward morality as the object and purpose of education, because there were no satisfactory reasons for believing that any close and intimate connection existed between them.

It is most essential that we should not be misunderstood in this; we distinctly disavow any wish or desire to assert that education is conducive to immorality. We contented ourselves with the general answer of 'not proven,' merely contending that the burden of proof lay with those who made the affirmative assertion. Our words were so explicit, that had not our meaning *been* misunderstood, it would have been impossible to suppose it could be so; we introduced the subject by finding fault with those who held that there was any *necessary* connection between such totally distinct things as education and morality; but had we argued that the effects of education were immoral, we should have been establishing a connection of the most palpably unsatisfactory description.

As, however, we were answering no definite or specific arguments, it was natural, if not necessary, that we should touch on the general and most obvious heads, in order to show that *prima facie*, at any rate, they afforded no grounds for the conclusion in question.

We contended accordingly, and surely with justice, that it was the slenderest and most fallacious of inductions to assume, that because Europe or England was more moral and at the same time more educated than India, the one was necessarily, or even probably, the cause of the other; for, were so loose an argument as that to be admitted, it would be easy to attribute *any* effect to *any* cause; yet we believe that with many persons this is perhaps unconsciously, one of the principal and leading foundations for their opinion. If, however, it is abandoned, what remains to establish the connection in point? We almost exhaust the arguments, when we divide them into—*1st*, that which could be drawn from the actual experience of our present efforts in India; *2nd*, those which could be derived from the previous experience of mankind, in similar cases, and in other countries; and, *lastly*, those which might be based on an exami-

nation or analysis of the natural and tangible effects of a motive agent, such as education, or an object, such as morality.

As regards the first of these arguments, it is complained that we bring no proof that it is mere assertion; we are ready to bring all the proofs which the nature of the case admits of, but we certainly cannot poll all the Europeans and natives whose experience and habits of observation entitle their opinion to any weight, on the question whether, in their private lives, the educated inhabitants of this country are better than they were before they were educated; this must remain a matter of experience. We can confidently assert that we rarely if ever met a person who could speak to any manifest or palpable improvement, while we have met numbers who are ready confidently to state that there is no improvement discernible; in fact, we thought that there was on this point such a '*consensus*' of all disinterested persons, and the argument of no improvement was so generally employed as showing the folly and uselessness of education, that it was this as much as anything, which led to our contention that it was a mistake to set up the improvement of morality as its great end and justification.

If, however, the experience of any others is different in this respect, of course this part of our argument as far as they are concerned, loses its force, and is neutralised; but this must remain a matter of opinion, and we believe that our view, that hitherto uneducated natives* appear to be not less unselfish, charitable, kind, chaste, or sober, not more anxious to defraud or take an unfair advantage, not more conceited or self-opinionated or unfeeling, or in any other way immoral in their private lives than those who have been educated, will meet with general confirmation from all unbiassed and candid persons.

The next argument is surely worthy of attention, and deserves confutation if it be erroneous. In the history of the world we have before us a succession of nations undergoing a gradual transition from a rude and uneducated state, to one of comparative civilisation and education. Here is an opportunity for showing that, invariably or at any rate generally, the more educated age was also the more moral in the life of any nation; we can

* It may be seen that we believe the same to be true of other countries also, especially if we take education in the sense it bears in India, viz., the impartation of secular knowledge. But we confine the statement in the text to natives of India, because our present head or argument is, that taking the case of India as a test, our efforts have actually produced no clear and marked opinion in the improvement of morality.

contemplate the question with the calm eye of an historian, we are not likely to be surveyed by the optimism which always deludes some persons into over-estimating the advantages of the present,

ἡμεῖς τῶν πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' ὄναι

nor are we under the influence of the pessimism of others who, distorting the faults of their own age and blind to those of their ancestors, always imagine that the human race is hastening to its decline.

*'Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiore.'*

Under this head we see no reason to abandon our ground, that so far from any argument being available from this source to prove the benefit of education on morality, the weight of these examples is thrown, if anywhere, into the opposite scale. To revert to our previous illustrations; it can hardly be denied that Athens reached the climax of its state of education in the time of Aristophanes, and that morals in his day appear to have been very far from improving. The Augustan age, viewed in its intellectual aspect, was surely the most brilliant epoch in the history of Rome, yet that is the very time to which the words of Horace, above quoted, are applied; and they are generally allowed to be not *wholly* ascribable to that obliquity of vision which might have led to their utterance in every age. Wherever we turn the same result awaits us. In England, if we select any monarchs as more particularly surrounded by brilliant and intellectual circles, or whose reigns were more abounding in distinguished persons of every kind, they would be Elizabeth, Charles II., and the regent son of George III.; yet history is unanimous in condemning all these, the two last especially, and stigmatises their lives as periods when vice was most unbridled and morals most lax; and particularly among those very persons who displayed such intellectual pre-eminence.

So unfavourable indeed does this test appear to be, that we admit that it might be made use of as an argument that the effects of education are absolutely pernicious. We distinctly repudiate this conclusion, which can be easily evaded. Education is one only of the component parts of civilisation, and also naturally accompanies or is accompanied by an increase of wealth; for wealth by affording an increased demand for educated labour, fosters education, and education by teaching society its true interests, increases wealth, so that they naturally act and re-act on each other. Of these three it is

probable that wealth, and in some respects civilisation too, may be directly responsible for some vice and immorality, and, by leading to effeminacy and degeneracy, may be indirectly responsible for much more. Still our position remains unassailed that no assistance from these heads can be derived by education moralists.

Thus far all is plain and straight-forward, the difficulty only commences when the safe and easy ground of facts and experience is abandoned for the treacherous and fallacious field of analysis. It never was our intention in any way to attempt to prove that education *could not* be conducive to morality; we only touched lightly on one or two of the leading points which suggested themselves, and endeavoured to show that thus far they pointed to little or no necessary connection. We are however fully prepared to admit that this part of our argument was incomplete and tentative; it would in fact be next to impossible to exhaust such a subject.

In the first place it is necessary to remember what the meaning is which we were attaching to the word 'education,' for it might be capable of very opposite definitions. As our title showed, we were speaking solely of that purely intellectual training and communication of secular knowledge which is all that our present scheme in India provides or perhaps could provide for. Domestic and religious training, the inculcation of good principles by parents, all instruction, which can be equally given to a child who cannot read and write, as to one who is being taught half-a-dozen languages or the mysteries of Algebraic Geometry, we of course exclude, and readily admit to have the greatest effect on the improvement of morality. Having thus limited our meaning, let us suppose the case of two men, the one a linguist, a scholar, and a man of science, the other entirely uneducated, both tempted to be uncharitable or conceited, or to be selfish or unchaste; does it appear, *prima facie* at least, that the languages or sciences of the one will give him any greater strength to resist the temptation, than will be available to the second? We do not state this as an easy or simple question, to answer it *properly* might involve a long and learned psychological dissertation, nor do we deny that in some cases there might be *some* effect; all that we contend is that there is nothing in the nature of the case against us, and that, except in the instance of an enlightened self-interest, the effects, when they are traceable, are, to say the least, as much pernicious as beneficial. For instance, we are ready to admit that educated men are more likely to acquire intellectual tastes, and intellectual tastes, though they have their

own peculiar dangers, do undoubtedly shield a man from more than they expose him to. On the other hand we still maintain that education, particularly a purely secular education, has a tendency to undermine religion, and few religions, viewed in their moral effects at least, are not better than no religion at all. We also see no reason to depart from our previous statement that there are many sentiments and prejudices which, though wholesome, cannot withstand the solvent power of the intellect, and therefore also suffer from the spread of education.

It would be easy, too, to maintain several particular faults with respect to which education operates either prejudicially or beneficially, as, for instance, an educated man is less likely to have recourse to force or violence, but more to fraud and artifice to accomplish his ends; but these would all be isolated cases, and would point to no broad and definite rule, nor would they in any way affect the ultimate causes or foundations of moral actions, with respect to which self-interest appears to be the only one where any clear and tangible benefit can be traced to education. Even on this head the *Friend of India*, (who is welcome to his suicidal argument) justly remarks that self-interest leads to immoral as well as moral actions. This is true, and it was this very consideration which led to our drawing a distinction between private and public morality.* In a man's relations to society at large, it can hardly be denied that upright and moral conduct almost always subserves self-interest, and that he can see this the more clearly, as he is the more instructed to discern his interest correctly. In private life, on the contrary, it would be easy to show many vices which are in no way injurious to a man's worldly interests, especially when committed in the concealed and hidden manner in which they generally are. How much immorality is comprised in the one vice 'selfishness'? and yet selfishness, even of the grossest description, is rather conducive than otherwise to self-interest, and so far is this from forming an offence against public morals, that an enlightened selfishness is selected, and rightly too, by modern economists and statesmen, as the best root and basis of all good

* The distinction between private and public morality is perhaps rather indefinite. We intended to convey by the latter the reciprocal duties of individuals, and the public or society towards each other, by the former their duties towards other individuals or towards themselves and their maker. The distinction is somewhat akin to public wrongs, or those which it is considered proper to punish criminally, and private wrongs, or those for which only a civil, or in some cases no legal remedy is provided. Of course it would be difficult to draw the line between the two with any precision, but the general distinction is clear enough for all the purposes of this

government. It may be thought that in selecting self-interest as the medium through which education works improvement, we are adopting a very low and unworthy line of defence for its extension. It may appear a great humiliation to substitute a practical and to a certain extent sordid motive of this kind, for the grand and lofty aims of those who dreamt of nothing less than the total regeneration of society. It would seem that even apart from the hope of enlightening its subjects on the question of their true interests, their education would still be the duty of Government, as we argue below, but even accepting this ground, we would submit that it is by no means of such secondary or trivial importance.

It is impossible to refuse some limitation to the duties of a Government; however desirable it may be that it should legislate for the universal good of its subjects, social and religious, private and public, temporal and eternal, personal and corporate, domestic and foreign, it is practically necessary that it should confine its operations as much as possible to certain definite and recognised channels. As the science of Government improves, it becomes more evident that its interference should be more and more limited, it is found expedient even to draw distinctions between the duties of Imperial Government and Local or Provincial Governments and Municipal Governments. In the promiscuous conflict of opinions, theories, and religions, the ruling power ought to abstain from taking any part which is not strictly required for the interests and happiness of the whole. While the machinery of former days, feudal ties, personal loyalty, divine and hereditary rights, state religions and uniformities, and distinctions of classes and castes, are one by one disappearing or proving antiquated and ineffectual, it becomes more and more necessary that Governments should avail themselves of the only weapon which appears capable of being employed in their stead, an enlightened self-interest.

We have the most intense aversion to utilitarianism, we are fully alive to the grave shortcomings and hideous defects of the substitute we have mentioned, yet it would be foolish to deny that a sound understanding of class interests, and personal interests on the part of its subjects, is one of the most powerful aids, that can be devised to a good and beneficent Government, and that it seems likely that selfishness may, at last, give that support to law and order, which its ancient mainstays fail any longer to afford. We cannot do better than quote the words of one not usually reckoned among the most blind and superficial thinkers of the age, who also supports most fully those very views of ours on the moral tendencies of the age,

which have been so vehemently assailed. 'I do not assert that it is easy to teach men to exercise political rights, but I maintain that when it is possible, the effects which result from it are highly important, and I add that if there ever was a time when the attempt should be made, that time is our own. It is clear that the *influence of religious belief is shaken*, and that the notion of divine rights is declining; it is evident that *public* morality is vitiated*, and the notion of *moral rights is also disappearing*, there are general symptoms of the substitution of *argument for faith*, and of *calculation for the impulses of sentiment*. If in the midst of this general disruption you do not succeed in connecting the notion of *rights* with that of *personal interest*, which is the only immutable point in the human heart, what means will you have of governing the world except through fear'?†

It may be observed that the question of education in Bengal as regards its effects on morality is in reality two-fold. 1st, Whether a purely secular education, in other words a simple accession of knowledge '*ceteris paribus*,' increases morality. This is the general question. 2ndly, Whether an *English* secular education will be productive of improved morality in *India*. We touched on both of these in our articles, but it seems that it is our view of the first only which has been so severely animadverted on; the second or special head in which we held, that while some benefit might arise, it would be so weakened by the different habits, modes of thought, religious and race antipathies of the teachers and the taught, as to be almost unappreciable, appears to have been passed over without serious question; in fact it must be palpable to any one that has observed how the specialities of one nation are always distorted, mutilated, and unappreciated at the hands of another. We have no occasion therefore to add anything to our previous remarks on this head.

It may have appeared strange to some that a view so eminently Christian and scriptural as ours, that secular learning was not one of the necessary or principal aids to morality, should have been attacked in a journal which generally professes such strictly Christian principles, as '*the Friend of India*'. We do not in

*On this point it would appear that the above extract goes even further than we do, as we allowed an improvement in public morality. But it can hardly be doubted that the words in the text do not intend that restricted sense of public morality in which we used the words, namely, as opposed to private morality. It is more probable that they mean the morality of the public, i. e. general morality, as De Tocqueville was specially aiming at proving that the Americans show a great and surprising aptitude for the performance of public duties and self-government.

†Tocqueville's America, vol. I, page 287. (Reeve's Translation.)

any way desire to justify ourselves from this source; we are quite content to rest our case on experience and argument, but it must be clear to any one that learning, or pure secular knowledge, is never represented in the Bible as one of the primary or necessary means of leading a virtuous life on the contrary; of the chief requisites of charity, humility, temperance, chastity, and faith or a childlike disposition, learning does not appear directly or prominently conducive to any one, while if not incompatible, it does seem to be at least unfavourable to the second and last; and were knowledge even one of the leading elements of virtue, it is hard to see how a childlike nature would be so pre-eminently extolled. In spite of this it cannot be questioned that during the last century, and more especially the last three decades, the civilized portion of the world has been passing through an epoch of education mania, and it has been the doctrine of a large and influential party, that education was to be the panacea for almost all the ills and vices that have been entailed on the human race. The doctrine has, it is true, been for the most part held by the free-thinking or latitudinarian and sceptical* parties, but has also been imbibed in a great degree by those of a very different class. Under these auspices it has spread far and wide, bearing fruit not only in multiplied schools and colleges and mechanic's institutes and learned societies, but also inundating the market with class books and text books and examinations and examining bodies, till one is almost prepared for a proposal, to unite all the nations of the world into one federation under a president exercising his authority by the divine right of competitive examination. Even India knows how she was selected as the happy country whose government was to be regenerated, abuses uprooted, poor made rich, and rich made good, by the new class of rulers which the invigorating breezes of competition were to waft to her shores. *Ex uno disce omnia*; competition is probably a real good; and capable of being turned to still greater use, were its evils more wisely guarded against. It can check the frailties of patrons, and furnish a body of men of at least average abilities, and perhaps more than average diligence and steadiness, but when we compare the sober and moderate results, with the splendid and magnificent anticipations of its earliest advocates, must it not be admitted that those anticipations were unfounded and fallacious, and ought we not to be prepared for a similar conclusion, as

* We use the word in a philosophical sense and without any intent of attaching any odium to it.

regards the equally exaggerated expectations formed on so cognate a subject as education?

In England, in fact, many persons appear to have already discovered that their brilliant hopes require to be sobered and modified. The leaders of the principal religious parties at least, are generally agreed to this extent, while many go further and strongly condemn a purely secular education, such as we are giving in India, as a positive evil. To this we demur, but we nevertheless were of opinion that even in India these were few who were not prepared to accept the more modified, though not the more sweeping conclusion. But it seems that we were mistaken, and the reason why the religious party should have set such store on a purely secular education and should be reluctant to strike their colours, may perhaps be susceptible of explanation. The missionaries came out to this country full of hope and confidence, believing that the success they deserved must speedily attend their exertions; they found however that their direct efforts were lamentably unproductive; on the other hand they found the natives of this part of India willing and even eager to avail themselves of their secular instruction, and saw truly enough that this must in time be the means of weaning them from their old faith. Only assume that this was the road to a new faith, and all that they desired, all that they so ardently but unavailingly looked for as their due, was at length in their grasp. Here was their work progressing fast, the natives were rapidly acquiring secular learning, this was as rapidly dissipating their old religious belief, and then doubtless (?) the new religion would as rapidly take its place. Was it wonderful that they assigned so lofty a place to education, or that they formed an unnatural alliance, with free-thinkers and sceptics, who despising the old beaten paths of faith and humility and reveling in the pride of intellect of their nineteenth centuryism, looked to knowledge alone as the sun of glory, which was at length to dispel the mists and fogs of human corruption?

It is true that this was very different from the methods employed by a Paul, an Augustine, or a Xavier; such men may have thought that the unknown God of one religion formed the best stepping stone to the known Deity of another, they may have considered an interregnum of infidelity as anything but desirable, far less as necessary for their work. The belief in a state of probation, an unseen world, and a future state of rewards and punishments, and other features common to almost all religions, so much so indeed as to have led many to think that all erroneous creeds are but corruptions of an original deposit of truth revealed to the first parents of the human race, may have

appeared too valuable to be sacrificed to a state of infidelity from which they might never be recovered. A new method was now to be employed, and the missionary cue (if we may use the word without disrespect,) was and still is that the expulsion of Hinduism formed a fitting if not indispensable preparation for Christianity. Such being their expectation they have now to undergo the mortification of disappointment; lustres pass by, and still the results are admittedly incommensurate with the enormous expenditure and personal sacrifices made to attain them. Is it wonderful that there should be a little soreness against those who defend education for its true and solid and tangible benefits, and abandon those which should never have been expected from it? At the same time it should never be forgotten that while the missionaries have not succeeded in their direct object, they have indirectly proved great and real benefactors to the Government and the country, and are entitled to the gratitude of both for the impulse they have given to education.

It is however objected that according to this view there would be little or no cause for this gratitude; at least our view is considered objectionable to all who 'still believe that the spread of 'knowledge must be to the advantage of mankind.' Such a conclusion could only follow on the assumption that the improvement of morality is the only object in the world which deserves to be spoken of as being to the advantage of mankind. We frankly admit that our argument is against the position that a larger proportion of a learned than of an unlearned nation would attain to happiness in the next world, but surely there was nothing in our article to prevent the superiority of the former over the latter being incalculable as far as this world is concerned. When men sacrifice health and strength, life and fortune, when they elaborate arts and sciences, and toil six if not seven days in the week on objects which do not pretend to benefit mankind in more than their worldly interests, it must be hypercritical to find fault with an opinion which looks for a gain of a similar character only in the case of education. We have already contended that the enlightenment of its subjects is a matter of such primary importance to a Government in the present age, that this alone would constitute an ample justification for any reasonable amount of exertion and expenditure on their education; but we are prepared to go further and to maintain that, besides being highly expedient, it is also an absolute duty, the neglect of which can only be excused by the gravest political necessity.

The absence of education as effectually cripples the mind, as paralysis does the body, and it is clearly the duty of those who

have the case of others whether parents of their children, or rulers of their subjects, to place them as far as possible in the full possession of all the faculties, with which they are endowed by their Creator. An uneducated man feels his inferiority as much or even more in the upper walks of life than one who is deprived of the use of a hand or foot, and it would be hard to show that blind persons are as a rule less moral than those who have the use of their eyes, yet we never heard the work of an oculist disparaged, as not being for the advantage of mankind, because he could point to no improvement of morality, as resulting from his operations. It appears then fair and reasonable to conclude that an uneducated people will not be necessarily less moral than one that is educated, but that those who are responsible for having kept them in ignorance, are as guilty as those who fail to avert the blindness or bodily defects of persons committed to their charge.

In effect our opponents say to the people of India, 'Come, you poor demoralized and vitiated beings, to your kind physicians, we have the medicines which will combat and expel the diseases which you are unable to overcome; take a dose of geography, it will correct the acidity of your tempers; let us prepare you a bolus of chronology, it will check your tendency to fraud; you are too lethargic and require the stimulants of surds and the multiplication table; you should drench your minds with mathematics, they will keep out the pestilential perjuries of the country. You are sadly steeped in error, but we have a preparation of Hume and Gibbon which will instil into you the truths of Christianity.' We say 'Fate or rather Providence has placed us in possession of your country; an ignorant people is of all others the most thankless and difficult to govern; and we wish to win or at least to merit your affection, we therefore educate you in order that you may appreciate our rule when it is good; and when it is not so, we are desirous to have our faults pointed out; moreover we have inherited the heir-looms of Greek and Roman learning, we have acquired a useful science from the Arabians, and our inventive genius and spirit of enterprise have laid open to us advantages and truths unknown to you, but so convincing, that they only need to be expounded in order to be accepted; and it is our duty to share with you in order that we may endeavour to elevate your minds to our own level.'

If the latter aim is less ambitious, less lofty than the former, at any rate more sober and practical, and need not shrink from the tests of time and experience.

It was taken to our statement that education has a

tendency to weaken all religious faith; we meant, as was clear, a purely secular education, such as is being imparted in Government Schools, in India. The fact whether here or in Europe* is so patent, that it must have required more than ordinary blindness or audacity to question it. It may be shown too that the experience of what it does effect is entirely corroborated by antecedent probability. It is inevitable that students should undervalue the importance of subjects of which they are ignorant, and magnify that of those which they have learned; an old fashioned orthodox scholar despises many useful branches of instruction as modern superficialities, while Mr. Cobden professes to believe a single number of the 'Times' to be more valuable than the whole of Thucydides. Is it conceivable that where religion is excluded or ignored, it can retain its relative importance, or be properly estimated, or even remembered, by those whose entire energies are absorbed in secular studies? We should as soon expect a committee of Oxford classical scholars to render due homage to the value of mathematics, or Mr. Bright to write a work in the Greek particles, as one who has received no religious instruction to estimate correctly the importance of theology or the need for definite doctrine.

It may perhaps be said 'ought an education open to this charge to be supported?' The only reply can be that faulty as it undoubtedly is in this respect, it is nevertheless the best and fairest, in fact the only fair one under the circumstances, which can be given. Were its subjects so unanimous in religion that they might practically and without injustice be regarded as forming a single religious corporation, it would indeed be an unpardonable blot for a Government to omit religion from the course of education; but when such unanimity is not attainable (and for the future where in the world will it be so?) when wise and learned theologians differ, when the subjects are divided into sects and creeds, it would surely be a monstrous injustice that a man of comparatively little theological erudition, such as a statesman must generally be, should constitute himself the supreme arbiter of their differences, and by his decision tax the property of the one to aid in furthering the progress of the other. Would it be just that we should abuse our power by taking the money of six score of million Hindoos and a score of million Mohamedans in order to propagate

* If education in Europe is not so exclusively secular as in India, it has at any rate the same tendency. That is to say a great extension of secular education has taken place, and every stimulus to it is hitherto while the religious element is stationary or rather retrograde, and a growing inclination to question the importance of theology.

among them a religion which they do not believe. Even were we to do so, we still could not settle fairly which of the forms of Christianity we would adopt, and any comprehension would lose far more in consistency and unity than it would gain in numbers. All that can be done is to reduce the evil to a minimum by encouraging each persuasion to provide educational facilities for those of their own belief, the system adopted (unless we are mistaken) in France and many countries, and now introduced into India by the grant-in-aid rules, which when administered with real equity and impartiality, are the fairest that can be desired.

As we admitted in our article, there are many other defects in the character of the education given in Bengal; it was alien to our purpose to discuss them, but we will touch briefly on one which appears to be rather an error in principle than in detail. The Indian scheme appears too partial, if not actually wedded, to what we may call the modern educational heresy which values instruction rather for the quantity of matter it pours into the mind, than for the manner in which it prepares the mind to receive and use this matter. It used to be held, that the true test of education was, whether or not it taught the pupil to reason and think correctly on any subject matter which might be placed before him, and if in so doing any useful knowledge could be conveniently imparted, so much the better, provided this end was duly subordinated to that which was considered to be the primary object; the acquisition of knowledge belonged rather to a subsequent period, when the direct work of education had been completed. It is this change of objects, or to speak more correctly, change in their order of importance, which is responsible for the vastly increased number of subjects, which a liberal education is expected to comprehend. If the quantity of knowledge is the desideratum, it is easy to see that a smattering of many subjects is more useful and far more showy than a full or profound knowledge of a few. Moreover as useful knowledge is being rapidly expanded, there is more and more necessity to enlarge the field of education, leading to more and more superficiality. For the capacity of the mind is like a volume of water to be contained in an erect cylinder of a required depth; if the radius of the cylinder be too small, the water overflows and a portion of it is wasted and lost; if the radius be of the proper length, the whole of the water is contained, and the greatest depth at the same time served, but if it be further enlarged every increase in surface is made at the expense of a corresponding decrease in depth. So it is with education: if the number of subjects be too

limited, the mind has not full play, but a portion of its energy and power is wasted, but if on the other hand the number of subjects is excessive, it is impossible to preserve the required depth.

In conclusion we only hope that those who differ from us will take in hand the real task which is before them, and show some satisfactory reason for the opinion that knowledge is closely connected with the improvement of morality. A certain amount of knowledge, or rather of capacity for thought which creates a kind of knowledge, and certain intuitive ideas appear to be implanted in all, (even those who deny that there are any intuitive ideas, concede that such ideas are acquired by the simple exercise of the senses and without any extraneous assistance.) Mankind then are born with a faculty which enables them at a certain time of life to *know* or discriminate between good and evil. Increase their knowledge and we grant that their capacity for both is also increased, or in other words that increased knowledge is increased *power*, but we deny that the good increases more than the evil, or that the relative proportions of the two are altered. Let those who say that they are, prove their affirmation.
